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~~Edgar Francis Robinson~~

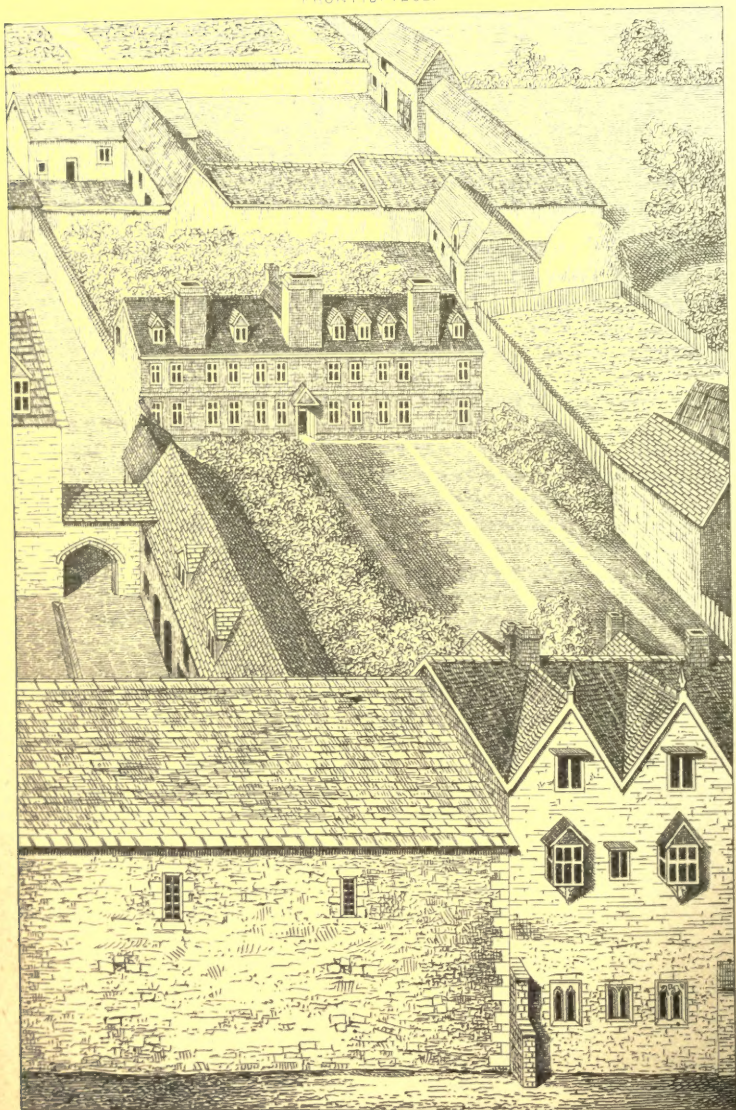
~~from his God Father~~

~~Edmund~~

~~on his passing into Winchester~~

~~July 11th 1895~~

FRONTISPIECE.



Francois Joseph Bagent, del. 1878.

RIGHT-HAND CORNER OF A LARGE OIL PAINTING
(A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE,
TAKEN ABOUT A.D. 1690).

IP #2782371
Wykehamica.

A HISTORY
OF
WINCHESTER COLLEGE
AND COMMONERS,
FROM THE FOUNDATION TO THE
PRESENT DAY.

BY THE

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Author of "Schoolboy Honour," "Tales of Church History," &c.

WITH NINETEEN ILLUSTRATIONS.

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The Trusty Servant.

DEDICATIO.

OMNIBUS hunc librum—felici prodeat horâ—
 WICCAMICIS, Wykami filius ipse, dico.
 Scilicet agnoscunt Wykamum quicumque parentem,
 Quemvis Wiccamicum fratris amore colunt.
 Usque adeo magni est, quod nostra infantia cœlum
 Hausit Wiccamicum, propter Ichenis aquas.
 Una piniferam Catharinæ ascendimus arcem,
 Quam bene fraxineo stipite docta phalanx !
 Una ausi tumidum saltu penetrare Lebetem,
 Per mediosque, instar fulminis, ire foros.
 Trinacriâ pugnas angustâ gessimus, Ægrâ
 Sanantes posito vulnera Marte, Domo
 Aut genibus flexis, torvo vocitante magistro,
 Quadrifidi tulimus verbera dira rudis.
 Una, populeâ fusi sub fronde per herbas,
 Palluimus, trepidi speque metuque novo,
 Clavigero quoties cum Commensale gerebat
 Prælia, solenni more, Togata cohors.

Aut fremitu implentes auras, cum, mense Decembri

Bis sex belligeri conscruere manus.

Una grande melos, abeundi in limine læto,

Fudimus æstivo vespere, “ dulce domum.”

Jessaicæ demum variâ sub luce fenestræ,

Unâ voce hymnos sustulimusque preces.

Vidimus et vultus, vocesque audiûmus amatas,

Dudum lingua silet, vox valet usque loqui !

Talia servantes altâ sub mente repôsta,

Fraternus stabili fœdere vincit amor.

P R E F A C E.



THE authorities, written and oral, from whom I have learned the particulars contained in the following pages, are mainly as follows :—

For the history and description of Winchester—Milner, Woodward, and T. Warton, together with some ancient maps of the town.

For the life of the Founder—the biographies of Chaundler, Martin, and Lowth ; also the old records in New College and Winchester libraries.

For the description and history of the College from its foundation to the eighteenth century—Cockerell's "Essay on William of Wykeham," the old records of the College, Wilkins's "Concilia," Dugdale's "Monasticon," and occasionally, Strype.

For the records of Old Commoners before Dr. Burton's time, I am chiefly indebted to the researches of F. J. Baigent, Esq., of Winchester. I desire also to acknowledge the valuable information he has given me on other points.

For the few particulars I have been able to learn respecting Dr. Burton, I have to thank

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Wykeham's Private Seal.

Wykehamica.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLACE AND THE FOUNDER.

IN a work of such small dimensions as the present, the reader will not expect an elaborate history of either William of Wykeham, or the city of Winchester, in the immediate environs of which he built his College. A brief notice of these is all that space will permit of, as introductory to the proper subject of the book—"Winchester College and Commoners."

The historians of Winchester, so far as my acquaintance with them extends, claim for their city an antiquity, and an historical importance, which, in the words of Milner, are not exceeded "by any other city within the compass of the island." These pretensions may be well founded. Nothing, I believe, has been recorded, which disproves their possibility, or even their likelihood; but, on the other hand, there is no trustworthy evidence of their

truth. I do not speak now of Lud Hudibras, and Malmutius, whose history is as fabulous as the story of Aladdin; or even of King Lucius, and the cathedral he is related to have built. I refer to the more sober, and more generally accredited statements made by Milner, and those whom he follows. He relates how, when the Romans arrived in Britain, and invaded Hants, they found, nestling in a hollow of the downs between the West and St. Giles's hills, an ancient British town called "Caergwent," or the "White City." This they Latinized as "Venta," adding "Belgarum^a" to distinguish it from the "Venta Icenorum" and "Venta Silurum^b" of the east and west. Subsequently, he tells us, it was fortified after the Roman fashion by Ostorius Scapula; whose "æstiva castra," according to old tradition, were constructed on the summit of St. Catherine's, where their remains were thought to be still traceable. After the departure of the Latin conquerors (he proceeds), Venta continued to be a thriving city under its native British princes, among whom is reckoned Uther, the father of the renowned Arthur: until, early in the sixth century, the city was attacked, taken after a brave resistance, and almost destroyed, by Cerdic, the leader of a new Saxon invasion.

All this (or rather it would be more proper to say, much of this) may be true, but it rests on no sure authority. No writer, who lived anywhere near

* The British Belgæ are generally regarded as an offshoot of the Gallic tribe of the same name. Cæsar's statement to that effect is plain enough (B. G., v. 12). He mentions them as occupying parts of Kent and Sussex; Ptolemy, as inhabiting Hants, Wilts, and Somerset. Probably, in the interval between these two writers, the Belgæ had advanced further westward.

^b Caistor in Norfolk, and Caerwent in Monmouth.

the times in question, states any of these facts. It is of course possible that the assertions of historians, who wrote many centuries afterwards, may be founded on oral traditions of more or less authority; but that is the most that can be said for them. Previously to the narrative of Bede, all that is stated by ancient writers of credit, is comprised in two or three sentences. Ptolemy, the Geographer, (whose work was probably completed early in the second century) reckons three cities of the Belgæ in Britain, "Ισχαλῖς (identified with Ilchester), "Ἰδατα θερμύ, or Bath; and Οὔεντα. Antoninus in his *Itinerarium* (drawn up, it is believed, under the Antonines, but not finally put forth until the time of Diocletian), reckons among the British cities "Venta Belgarum." The same statement is repeated by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, in the seventh century; who calls the city "Venta Velgarum."

But although these, the sole records of any trustworthy historians on the matters under consideration, do not establish any of Milner's conclusions, neither do they disprove them. As regards the name "Gwent" for instance, as the presumed root of "Venta"—the chalk downs overhanging Winchester render it likely enough that any British town, situated there, would be so called. There is no reason why there should not have been an important British city on that spot; nor why it should not have remained under native rulers, when the Romans left the island. But a confusion has evidently here been made, by imperfectly-informed historians, between the Caergwent of Monmouthshire, and that of Hampshire, which has been the cause of inextricable difficulties. Uther, and Arthur,

and his Round Table, have been transferred from their own proper regions in the west, to the southern coast of Hampshire; Camelot has been identified with Winchester; and all that is trustworthy in the history of the great British king has been rendered doubtful, by its transportation to a locality with which it has no connection.

Again, as regards the fortification of Winchester by the Romans, it is highly probable that it really took place. Undoubted evidences of Roman occupation exist at Winchester. The rude quadrangular shape of the ancient walls coincides with the usual plan of fortification among the Romans; and it was their well-known practice to fortify any considerable town in which they had established themselves. But it could hardly have been Ostorius Scapula who executed the work. From the narratives of Suetonius and Tacitus, his campaigns seem to have been carried on wholly against the Silures. Unless the "*Antona Fluvius*"^c of Tacitus is to be identified, not with the Avon, but the Itchen (which would be a very large assumption), he never had any connection with Hampshire at all. The general by whom the southern parts of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight were subdued, was not Scapula, but Vespasian, some years before^d; and if the fortification of Winchester could be assigned with reasonable likelihood to any of the Roman conquerors, it would be to him. But there is not the slightest evidence of such a fact.

Once more, as regards the capture and sack of Winchester by Cerdic, that also may be true; but

^c (Scapula), "*cinctos castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.*"—Tacit. Ann., xii. 31.

^d Sueton., Vespasian, 4.

again, the chroniclers of those times do not say so. All that they record on the subject is as follows:—

A.D. 514. This year the West Saxons came to Britain in three ships, at a place which is called Cerdicsore; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons, and put them to flight.

A.D. 519. This year Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West Saxons, and the same year they fought against the Britons, where it is now named Cerdicsore, [Saxon Chron., 514, 519].

It is, however, plain enough that there must have been a special time and occasion on which Winchester fell into the hands of the Saxons, and that the occurrence must have taken place considerably before the middle of the sixth century. It is no way unlikely that Cerdic was its conqueror, and that his victory was bloody and merciless; but there is no proof of this having been so. It is not until we come to the narrative of Bede, in the seventh century, that the authentic history of Winchester begins. He tells us how, A.D. 641, Cynegil, king of the West Saxons, became a convert to Christianity, and thereupon the celebrated Birinus was consecrated as the first Bishop of Wessex; though his see was established not at Winton, but Dorchester. In 664 the bishopric was divided, and Wini made the first Bishop of Winchester. Troubles ensued; and Wini having been expelled in 666, was succeeded by Eleutherius, and he again by Hedda; who finally fixed the see at Winchester (683), and began the series of Bishops, which has continued to the present day.

Among these prelates have been many distinguished not only for learning, piety, and liberal bounty, but for the important parts they have acted in the history of the realm. Among these should

be noticed: Daniel (A.D. 705), the first Bishop after the see had been peaceably established, a man of great learning, to whom Bede was largely indebted; after him Swithin (852), the tutor of Alfred^e; Dene-wulf (879), the friend and able coadjutor of the same great king; Athelwold, the architect (963); Alphege of our calendar, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and martyred by the Danes (984); Walkelyn, the rebuilders of the cathedral (1070); Edyngdon, its renovator (1345); Wykeham, the glory of his own and all after times (1366); Beaufort, cardinal and four times chancellor (1404); Waynfleet, chancellor, first Provost of Eton, Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford (1447); Fox, Founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1501); Wolsey (1528); Gardiner, chancellor (1531); Andrewes, the theologian (1619); Morley, founder of the Widows' College and the cathedral library (1662); and Samuel Wilberforce (1869).

From the middle of the ninth, to the end of the twelfth century, were the palmy days of Winchester, as it was now called^f. Whether it has rightly been styled the "capital of England" at this time, is doubtful; but it was certainly second in importance to no English city. The most renowned of the Saxon kings, Egbert and Alfred, Athelstane and Edgar, held their courts in their palace near the north-western corner of the cathedral yard. The early Norman sovereigns, the Conqueror, Rufus, and Beauclerc, made the Castle on the west hill their principal

^e In his time Winchester was captured by the Danes, and the inhabitants massacred, A.D. 860: there was a second massacre 873.

^f The Saxons called it "Winton-ceaster," a manifest corruption of "Ventæ Castra," whence by gradual change "Winchester."

place of residence. Stephen and Henry II. bestowed especial marks of favour on Winchester. Richard I. was received there by his assembled nobles, and crowned for the second time on his release from captivity. "This city," say the ancient City Tables, so far speaking not untruly, "hath given place of birth, education, baptism, marriage, michelegemots, gemots, synods, and sepulchre, to more kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, barons, bishops, and mitred prelates, before the year of our Lord 1239, than all the cities of England together could do."

It was not until the reign of King Richard I., that the growing importance and wealth of the great commercial city of London induced its citizens to dispute the right of precedency with those of Winchester. Nor did they succeed in establishing the claims thus advanced for a century afterwards; when, during the reign of Edward I., the citizens of Winchester were compelled to yield up some of their exclusive privileges as the capital city, and take confessedly the second place*. But though no longer accounted the Metropolis of England, Winchester long continued to hold a conspicuous place in public estimation. Some of the royal line were born, some were married, there; courts were held, and Parliaments met to deliberate within its walls; scarcely any of the Plantagenets failed to pay it long and frequent visits. It suffered a heavy loss by the Act of Edward III., removing the wool staple to Calais, from which it never recovered; but the severest blow

* A curious evidence of this fact is to be found in the manner in which the body of David of Wales was disposed of, after his execution. The four quarters were sent to be exhibited at Winchester, Bristol, Northampton, and York; but the head was transmitted to London, shewing that it, and not Winchester, was now regarded as the capital.

dealt to it, was the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. The loss of the rich revenues, which were wont to be expended freely among the citizens, together with the disappearance of the great ecclesiastical dignitaries, whose rank and influence shed lustre on their place of residence, were injuries which nothing could repair. It suffered again, though after a somewhat different fashion, during the Great Rebellion, in the mutilation and defacement of some of its finest architectural monuments. Finally, after the Revolution, it gradually diminished in importance, until it became—what it is now—a place of great interest to the Churchman and the Antiquary, but otherwise a mere provincial town^b, scarcely to be distinguished from any other of the English cathedral cities.

Even to the lovers of the picturesque, the old city is not what it was wont to be, so lately as fifty years ago. In those days it was surrounded on every side by the broad chalk downs, except where the rich valley of the Itchen opened, to afford a passage for the clear and sparkling waters, as they flowed onwards to the sea. Beyond the West-gate, which terminates the High-street, and the barracks adjoining, scarcely a house was to be seen; where now a new town is continually on the increase. These additions have rendered confused and shapeless what was once a complete and harmonious whole. At the date I speak of, Winchester resembled some quaint old mosaic, set in a broad ring of emerald. Now it has rather the appearance of the same mosaic shattered by a

^b It can hardly now claim to be called the capital of Hampshire: its population is not half that of Southampton, nor a quarter that of Portsmouth.

heavy blow, and its fragments scattered in all directions round.

Nevertheless, the view from St. Catherine's steep—a Wykehamist may be forgiven for preferring that to all others—is still strikingly beautiful. The hills stand round the city as round Jerusalem of old—on the east the precipitous heights of St. Giles's, with the high lands extending to the north; on the opposite side the Castle-hill, crowned by the great hall of the old Gothic building, now used as the law-courts, and the modern palace converted into barracks; beyond, southward, the long bare range of "Oliver's battery," with the rich valley of the Itchen, and its countless rills of clear water lying between the lofty slopes on either side. Immediately in front, embowered in its woods, rise the square tower and Norman church of St. Cross, one of the most interesting relics spared to us from the past. When the eye has been sated with the picture thus presented, it wanders back to the summit of the Castle-hill, essaying to trace out the bounds of the ancient city, as distinct from its modern environs.

We will follow the same course ourselves, and endeavour to reproduce Winchester as it was, when Wykeham laid the foundations of his college immediately outside its walls¹.

The latter had been levelled to the ground, or at least greatly shattered—possibly by the Saxon conquerors *circa* 516, but, if so, certainly again by the

¹ The walls were kept in repair by the city, and a tax known as "murage" was levied for the purpose. The kings were on particular occasions induced to allow, in addition to this, a portion of a fee-farm rent payable to the Crown, and the appropriation of the duties paid at the city gates, for merchandise brought in.

Danes in 871. They had been rebuilt, however, on the ancient foundation, and at the outset of the fourteenth century were in a sound condition. They presented the appearance of an irregular square, as was generally the case with Roman fortifications. We will endeavour to follow it out.

Beginning to the west, where the Romsey and Stockbridge roads separate, we have first the West-gate, the only one of the four principal gateways which the "improving" hands of Pavement Commissioners have spared. Immediately to the south of this lay the Castle-moat, a rude oval in shape; in the centre of which stood the Castle itself. From thence the wall, protected on the outside by the city ditch, trended eastward to Wolvesey, crossing Gold-street (now Southgate-street), at the end of which, across the Southampton-road, stood the South-gate—then Calpe-street, (the present St. Thomas-street,) and Simmonds-street, skirting St. Swithin's-street, until it reached the King's-gate over the road leading to St. Cross. Then it ran between what is now the Cathedral Close and College-street, along the enclosure of Wolvesey Palace; turning thence to the Weirs, and crossing High-street a little below Colebrook-street. Here was the East-gate, upon the road leading by Alresford to London. Passing the High-street, the wall proceeded towards Winnal; after which it, again turning in, ran along the roadway still known as the North-walls, crossing in succession Tanner-street, Wongar, and Shulworth (now Lower, Middle, and Upper Brooks), Parchment-street, Fleshmongers' (St. Peter's) street, to Jewry-street. This was the site of the North-gate, which guarded the road running by Hyde Abbey to Basingstoke. On account of the great interval between the north-

ern and eastern gates, a postern called the Durne-gate^k, was sometimes opened for traffic. Not far beyond the North-gate, the wall once more turned southwards, skirting the Tower-house, and the King's-fishponds, until it reached the West-gate again.

The area contained within these walls is somewhere about 140 acres; and, considering how closely crowded together, and densely inhabited were the houses of cities in the olden time, it probably contained a very large population,—treble, at least, the numbers now enclosed within the ancient walls^l. The total number of churches included in its bounds bears out this statement. Setting aside Milner's exaggerated estimate of ninety churches, (in which, doubtless, buildings existing only at widely different dates, buildings called by more than one name, and buildings outside the city are included, as well as private chapels and oratories), there is reason to believe that Winchester did once contain something like half that number. The Register of Pontissara, made not long before Wykeham's birth, enumerates twenty-nine churches, and does not include ten or eleven more, known to have been in use, though not as parish churches. There were also many monasteries and other religious houses scattered up and down the city, or in its environs.

One of the most interesting of these was Hyde Abbey, built by Edward the son of Alfred, near the Cathedral Close, and removed in Henry the First's time to its present site, outside the North-gate. Here, in a meadow called the Danemarke,

^k The Durne-gate was made in 1259, by licence of Henry III., only for the use of foot-passengers.

^l From a careful estimate which has been made of appointments to livings, it appears there were 22 churches inside, and 20 outside the city.

the ancient legend places the famous combat between Guy, Earl of Warwick, and Colbrand the Dane, said to have been witnessed by King Athelstane from an angle in the city wall. Of still greater importance was the Priory of St. Swithin, situated to the south-east, between Wolvesey and Simmonds-street. The Abbey of St. Mary, a sisterhood of Benedictine nuns, stood in the lower part of the town near Colebrook-street. There were also the houses of the four Mendicant Orders: of the Dominicans, adjoining the East-gate; the Franciscans, near Winnal; the Augustines, outside the South-gate; and the Carmelites, on the road to St. Cross. There was again, the college of St. Elizabeth; the collegiate chapel of the Holy Trinity; at the end of the Middle and Lower Brooks, St. John's house, and the Susterne spytal^m outside the King's-gate. There seems to have been but one school in Winchester, that maintained in the Priory of St. Swithinⁿ, situated at the southern end of Minster-street. To that, no doubt, was consigned the great man whose history we are now about to record, when he was brought, probably somewhere about his eleventh year, to be educated in the cathedral city of the diocese.

William, called "of Wykeham," was born in the autumn of 1324, in the village of Wykeham, not far from Fareham, in the county of Southampton. His surname has been a fruitful source of contro-

^m For some account of this foundation, see Chap. vii.

ⁿ That there existed a school of some celebrity at Winchester from the earliest times, is abundantly proved. Egbert sent his son, Ethelwolf, to be educated there by St. Swithin; De Blois, the founder of St. Cross, directed that thirteen poor scholars from this foundation should receive their daily victuals from his college; Alfred also was educated there. This was, of course, the Priory of St. Swithin's school.

versy among his biographers. Lowth has produced evidence that his father went by the name of "Longe^o;" but that, in all likelihood, was only a sobriquet conferred upon him—after a fashion very general in those times, and not wholly extinct in some parts of England now—on account of his great stature. No evidence has ever been produced that any other of his family was so called. Godwin, Collier, and others, affirm that his name was "Perot;" but as Simon Perot married his sister's daughter, Alice, it is improbable that he was a blood relation of Wykeham's^p. Harpsfield labours to prove that the family name was "Wykeham," but with little success^q. It is true that the bishop is as frequently called, and as frequently calls himself, "Wykeham," as "de Wykeham," but that proves little in Harpsfield's favour. Previously to the time

^o In an ancient Register preserved at Winchester College, we find,—*"Alicia, soror Johannis Longe, patris Domini Wilhelmi, episcopi Wintoniensis, &c.,"* (quoted by Lowth).

So, again, in Christopher Johnson's Metrical life of the Founder,

*"Qua capit Australis comitatu Hamptona Britannos,
Wykehamici est vicus nec, nisi parvus ager,
Vixit Johannes illic cognomine Longus,"* &c.

Johnson was a scholar, and therefore probably used the word cognomen in its strict sense of *"appellatio ab ingenio, fortunâ, habitu corporis, aliisque causis fere sumpta, et alicui addita præter nomen ac prænomen proprium."*—Facc. Lex.

^p In a French list of the English Chancellors, Wykeham is called "Perot." But I think the compiler and other writers have been misled by the fact, that some of Alice Perot's sons took the name of "Wykeham" in compliment to their illustrious kinsman.

^q In the Liber Albus, as the first Register at New College is called, a note has been added at the bottom of the last page, in a different handwriting to the rest, *"yt ys well to be proved that Wyllym Wykeham, Bysshope of Wynton, was borne in a towne in Hampshire, called Wykeham, and that his grandfather's name was Wykeham, although there hath been some doute of hys father's name."* But no one knows the date of this note; and Lowth, who quotes it, does not consider it to be of any weight in determining this question.

of Edward III., the “de” was almost invariably prefixed to local names; after that of Richard II. hardly ever. Wykeham’s was the transition time, when local names were written indifferently either way. On the other hand, Harpsfield’s supporters have still to prove that “de” was ever prefixed to any but local titles.

If any decision could be arrived at on a point so obscure, it would be that the name of his family was “As,” or “Aas,” for it is spelt indifferently either way. For this there is respectable testimony. “Henricus Aas,” was certainly the name of Wykeham’s paternal uncle^r. Letters dimissory were granted in 1366 to Ricardus As, and Henricus As, who are described as “consanguinei domini episcopi Willelmi Wykeham^s.” There is a “Gulielmus Aas” on the roll of the Fellows of New College, in 1404; and a “Johannes Aas” was admitted Scholar of Winchester in 1421, and afterwards Fellow of New College, who is expressly said to have been so elected because of his relationship to the Founder^t. All this tends to prove that “Aas” or “As,” was Wykeham’s family name. Anyway we are justified in assuming “Wykeham” to have been a name adopted from his birthplace. “It was a fashion of those days,” wrote Holinshed, “little more than a century after Wykeham’s death, from a learned spirituall man to take away his father’s surname, and give

^r “Item, secundum alios, Johannes Longe, pater Fundatoris, fratrem habuit, nomine Henricum Aas, qui Henricus Aas habuit tres filios, &c.”—Vet. Registr. Winton.

^s See Lowth, Appendix, No. XVIII.

^t “Anno decimo quarto a morte Fundatoris, Bartolomeus Bolney, et Johannes Aas, in numerum scholarium Colleg. Winton. adscripti; et postea anno 1421, perpetua, ut vocant, societate Collegii alterius (quod ut Oxoniæ) ex singulari consanguinitatis prærogativa, donati sunt.”—Martin, b. i. ch. 1.

him for it the name of the town he was born in." With this agrees the evidence of the *Liber Albus* before referred to, "*Wykehamus . . . a loco nomen assumpsit, et nomen cum loco perpetuo elogio decoravit.*"

His parents^u were of the yeoman class, but not bondmen; "*honesti generis,*" says Chaundler, "*opibus tamen non affluebant.*" His mother, Sibyl Bowade, had even some mixture of gentle blood in her veins, which would have rendered marriage with a bondman impossible. The boy must early have shewn unusual ability and industry, as he attracted the notice of the lord of the manor of Wykeham, Sir John de Scures^x, who was also Governor of Winchester Castle. The latter placed him at the priory school^y in Winchester, where he studied French, logic, canon law, and divinity, as well as arithmetic and

^u The Founder mentions his parents in endowments made for Masses to be said for their souls; but he only gives their Christian names, "John" and "Sibyl." *Stat. Rub.* 29.

^x All Wykeham's biographers represent Sir Nicolas Uvedall as having been his early patron; but this is an error. The Uvedalls were not lords of Wykeham till nearly the end of the fourteenth century, and no Uvedall was Governor of Winchester Castle before 1535. (See Appendix to this chapter.) Lowth says that it is "rather from a common tradition than any authentic account," that Uvedall has been assumed to have been his benefactor. The coat of arms and inscription over the walled-up door of the chapel, "*Uvedallus Wiccam Patronus,*" put up by the Rashleighs in the eighteenth century, under the prevailing error, has doubtless encouraged it.

^y Lowth and others say that the school at which Wykeham was placed, stood on the very same spot where he afterwards built his college. This appears to rest on the sole authority of an MS. in the Winton College Library. I suppose one ought, as a loyal Wykehamist, to accept this; but it is difficult to believe that the brethren of St. Swithin would have placed their school in a spot so exposed to continual danger; and if the "message" which stood in Dummer's Mead had been used "for many generations" as a school, it must surely have been the property of the religious house which had maintained it. How, then, could Devereux have claimed it as his wife's inheritance?

geometry. It was to his proficiency in the last two branches of knowledge, in which Harpsfield declares him to have been a "second Euclid," that he owed his success in life.

He was noted, not for his industry and ability only, but for his piety also. While at school, it was his wont every day to attend Mass in the cathedral, which was celebrated by one Pekis^z, a brother of St. Swithin's Priory, before an image of the Virgin, placed against one of the pillars of the nave,—the same place where he afterwards ordered his chantry to be built. On leaving school, De Scures took him into his service as secretary, and probably recommended him to William de Edyndon, Bishop of Winchester; for we find that the latter several times employed him in much the same capacity as Sir John had done. It is likely that Wykeham first gave proof of the architectural genius, which has rendered his name so famous, in some repairs and alterations of Winchester Castle.

Some of Wykeham's more modern biographers state that, about this period of his life, he removed to Oxford, and "studied there for six years, having for his tutor Charlton, afterwards Bishop of Hereford." But they produce no authority for such an assertion. And nothing can be less probable in itself; for undoubtedly at this time of his life Wykeham had no intention of taking orders, as we shall presently see. Six years study at Oxford, therefore, would be so much time withdrawn from his profession. Chaundler, who was Warden of New College only fifty years after Wykeham's death, writes of him "*Perhibetur nec*

* The name of this monk, "Richard de Pekis," occurs in a list of the brethren of St. Swithin's, drawn up in the year 1325. He was then an Acolyte.

artium, nec Theologiæ, nec utrorumque juriſcholarum exercuisse." Which, ſays Lowth, is tantamount to ſaying that he never ſtudied at an University; and Chaundler could hardly be miſtaken.

But, however this may have been, Wykeham was certainly at Wincheſter in his twenty-second year, when Edward III. paid his viſit to that city; which was the turning-point in the young man's career. Whether Edyndon, or Daundely, De Scures's ſucceſſor as governor, introduced him to the king, or whether the ability ſhewn in the works at the Caſtle attracted the notice of Edward, is uncertain. But the latter took Wykeham into his ſervice, and made him Surveyor of the Royal Works. His talents were employed on many important buildings; amongſt others on St. Stephen's, Weſtminſter, at Dover, at Queensborough—a triumph of engineering, as well as architectural ſkill—and finally at Windſor, the round tower of which was built from his deſigns^a. The ability which he diſplayed in the execution of theſe works was found to be of equal avail in more important matters. He was made, in 1364, Juſticiary of the Royal Foreſts, and about the ſame time Keeper of the Privy Seal. He appears alſo to have held the poſt of one of the royal ſecretaries, and to have been, in all public matters, one of the king's moſt truſted counſellors. So great was his court favour, that

^a Lowth, with reaſon, rejects the ſtory ſo often repeated—of his having inſcribed "*hoc fecit Wykeham*" on the round tower; and when this was made the ſubject of an attack on him, having explained it away by ſaying, his meaning was that "*the tower had made Wykeham.*" Independently of ſuch an equivocation being wholly inſiſtent with Wykeham's ſterling honeſty, it has always been a recognised practice with builders to inſcribe their names on their works, as painters do on their pictures; and it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that this could have given offence. Poſſibly Wykeham did ſay what is attributed to him; but if ſo, only in jeſt.

Froissart writes of him: "There was a priest about the king of England, called Sir William Wykam, who was so great with the king, that all things were done by him, and without him was nothing done." Wycliffe gives similar, though less flattering, testimony to his influence and advancement, when he writes, "Lords will not present a clerk able and cunning of God's law, but a kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, *or one wise in building castles*, or worldly doing, though he cannot well read his Psalter."

Is there any ground for these charges of ignorance, and abuse of sacred offices? Some have thought that there is. As regards ignorance, they quote the traditional story—how, when his appointment to the bishopric of Winchester was objected to, on the score of his deficiency in theological knowledge, he answered that "he knew he was unworthy, but that wherein he was wanting, he would supply it by a brood of more scholars, than all the prelates of England ever shewed." Allowing that Wykeham said this, it by no means follows that his lowly estimate of himself is to be accepted. No definite charge, no specific instance, in which he shewed himself incompetent for the duties of his station, has ever been alleged. It is a happy thing for a man, when no one thinks disparagingly of him, except himself.

For the other, it is alleged that all the preferments to which he was nominated—all, at any rate, to which he was instituted previously to his ordination—were sinecures, such as a layman might hold without blame, because there were no spiritual duties to discharge. It cannot be denied, that the list of his preferments was a tolerably long one, especially when he afterwards did take orders. When Urban V. issued

his celebrated bull against temporalities, and a return was made of those held by Wykeham, among others—their number and value is enough to startle the most devoted admirer of the great Bishop. The defence usually made for him is, that he made so good a use of the benefices bestowed on him, that no one ought to grudge them to him. Neither plea however will, in the abstract, stand good. A man should not receive payments for duties which (whether from incapacity or from their excessive amount) he is unable to perform. The only ground on which Wykeham can be successfully defended is, that these practices, however blameable, were the common usage of his day, no way peculiar to him. The mode in which his wealth was acquired was the fault of the times in which he lived; the wise beneficence with which he spent it was his own.

But the truth is that Wykeham had, at first, no intention of taking orders. When he first entered Winchester, a young boy, the population, large as it was, was perfectly well provided with clergy to serve their spiritual needs. But in the year 1348 England was visited by the terrible pestilence called the “Black Death^b,” more fatal in its ravages than any recorded in history; and the land had hardly begun to recover from the blow, when a second plague, in 1361, desolated the land. Half the churches in England were shut up, for simple lack of clergy to minister in them: the numbers of the brethren, in even the most richly-

^b Hecker (“Epidemics of the Middle Ages”) says that Europe lost twenty-five millions of its inhabitants by this pestilence. The Registers of the fourteenth century affirm that in England not the tenth part of the population was left alive. This is doubtless an exaggeration; but it is certain that London lost 100,000, Norwich 50,000, and other large towns, like Winchester, in proportion.

endowed monasteries, fell off one-third, and sometimes one-half; everywhere throughout the realm holy offices were left unperformed. Wykeham felt himself to be among those called to help in supplying this urgent need. He presented himself to Bishop Eddyndon; and was by him admitted to the orders of an acolyte, December, 1361, at the chapel in Southwark: he was further ordained sub-deacon March 12, 1362; and priest, June 12, in the same year; both ordinations being by the same prelate.

He had now embarked on a different career, in which he was to reap greater honours, and do higher services. In 1366, the death of Eddyndon left the see of Winchester vacant. Wykeham was at once chosen by the king to fill it. He was also simultaneously fixed upon by the pope, as his nominee for it; and the chapter of St. Swithin, with equal readiness, declared in his favour. But notwithstanding this general consent, there was great difficulty in securing the bishopric for him. Both king and pope claimed the nomination; and a twelvemonth elapsed before the parties could be reconciled, so as to concur in the appointment of Wykeham. He was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, October, 1367, by Langham, the Primate, and his suffragans of London and Salisbury.

About a month previously to this event, Wykeham had been advanced to the highest of his offices, the Chancellorship of England. This he held for four years—through the troublous times, when the renewal of the French wars was causing alarm and anxiety in England—and resigned it in 1371, mainly in consequence of a petition presented by the Commons—a document of great importance, as shewing the gradual change which was coming over men's minds—

in which they prayed the king for the future to appoint laymen, rather than ecclesiastics, for the management of civil affairs. Whether the king thought it wiser to comply with the request of his subjects, or whether Wykeham himself urged the step, as in accordance with his own personal wishes, is not known. It is enough that he did resign, and retiring to his diocese, confined himself for the next five years to the discharge of his episcopal duties, holding visitations, repairing churches, and reforming abuses ; whereof, it would seem, there was no lack. In the year 1376, Wykeham had the opportunity of proving that he could be as firm in the season of trial, as he had hitherto been humble and moderate in prosperity. The Parliament in that year, indignant at the abuse of power by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,—who in the dotage of Edward III. and the declining health of the Black Prince, had usurped the reins of government,—presented a petition to the old king, that he would choose out ten or twelve faithful councillors, who would heal the evils in Church and State. Edward complied, and Wykeham was one of the Council of nine named by him. These proceeded at once to inquire into the abuses complained of. Latimer the treasurer, who had been Lancaster's prime favourite, was impeached ; and the infamous Alice Perrers, the king's mistress, who also had leagued with the duke, was banished from the court.

For a month or two all went well ; but in June, the death of the Black Prince removed the only influence for good which now had any weight with the aged and feeble king. Lancaster once more seized the staff of power. Latimer and Alice Perrers^c were

^c It is hardly necessary here to refute the silly calumny, which Lowth has so completely exposed, of the fancied con-

restored to court favour, and the duke's vengeance fell heavily on those who had supplanted him—most of all on Wykeham. Eight articles of impeachment were drawn up, accusing him of misgovernment of various kinds, but chiefly of misappropriation and embezzlement of public money, during the time when he held the offices of Privy Seal and Chancellor. A packed tribunal gave judgment against him. The temporalities of the bishoprick were seized; he was forbidden to come within twenty miles of the court; and when, on the occasion of the fiftieth year of the old king's reign, a general amnesty of offences was granted, Wykeham was the only person excluded from it. The bishop retired to the Abbey of Waverly, and there, calm and uncomplaining, waited for the time when justice would be done.

It came even more speedily than might have been looked for. Within a twelvemonth of his seizure of power, the duke's intemperate haughtiness provoked an outbreak among the citizens, which completely quelled him. Two days before Edward's death, Wykeham's sentence was reversed. Conditionally on his undertaking to fit out three ships of war at his own cost, his temporalities were restored to him. Even the condition attached to the repeal of the penalties pronounced against him, was revoked early in Richard's reign, and he was pronounced wholly blameless.

During the twenty-two years of Richard's unhappy rule, Wykeham seems to have done all that

nection between Wykeham and this woman, whom some writers have declared to have been his niece, and introduced by him to the king! They either really, or as is more probable, wilfully, confound her with the Alice Champneys, *wife* of William *Perot*, named in Wykeham's will. Alice Perrers, as Lowth has shewn, was an entirely different person.

lay in his power to advise, help, and warn the son of his old friend. At one time, he consented again to hold the great seals; but it was only for a short time. Doubtless Wykeham's experienced eye saw the approaching downfall of the infatuated boy, whom it was vain for him to attempt to save. He was also now not far from his seventieth year, and anxious to devote the brief period of his life which might yet remain to him, to the execution of the great works on which, for many a year past, his mind had been fixed. He retired therefore finally from public life in 1391, and in his quiet residence at Wolvesey or Waltham, heard with sorrow of the increasing troubles of King Richard—his overthrow, dethronement, and death. Before the occurrence of these events he had completed two of the designs he had proposed to himself—the foundation of New, and Winchester, Colleges: how he carried these out will be related in the ensuing chapters. In 1394, he commenced the third of his undertakings, the renovation of his cathedral. This occupied him ten years; and was near its completion at the time of his death.

Strongly as Wykeham must have disapproved the course pursued by Bolingbroke,—who, though he might have been justified in resisting Richard's lawless tyranny, could not claim a throne to which another was the lawful heir,—he doubtless saw that there was no prospect of peace for England, unless by accepting him as king. He attended Henry's coronation, and sat, we are told, at his right hand. The new king seems to have regarded Wykeham with the reverence universally accorded him. It is not unlikely that this induced him to celebrate his

second marriage, with Joan of Navarre, in the cathedral at Winchester, January 7, 1403.

This was the last public occurrence of Wykeham's life. On the 27th of September, 1404, he died peacefully at his palace at Waltham, aged 80 years^d. His body was conveyed to Winchester, and buried, with evidences of the deepest sorrow and reverence, in the chantry, which he had prepared long before as his final resting-place. Let us say of him, with good old John Stow, "Neither do we doubt that he, that thus lived, is now with God; whom we beseech to raise up many like bishops in England."

^d Wykeham's will shews the character of the man — his thoughtfulness and care for all whom he had known and loved; and with him to know was to love. It contains more than two hundred bequests, to the amount of somewhere about £7,000, a large sum in those days. It is given *in extenso* by Lowth.

CHAPTER II.

ST. MARY WINTON.—THE FABRIC.

WYKEHAM was essentially the man of the middle ages. Had he lived two centuries earlier, he would have founded monasteries, required a strict life of those who occupied them, and supplied them with the means of directing and helping their lay neighbours. Had he lived two centuries later, it is not unlikely that the same resolute and godfearing mind which bore him so nobly through his struggle with his State enemies, would have led him to stand at the stake with Latimer and Ridley. But he lived in the fourteenth century, and it was the special wants of that particular epoch that he set himself to study and supply.

England was then undergoing an important change. Perhaps the same may be said of every generation ; the human race being in a continual state of transition. But in some ages this is exhibited more markedly than in others, and such was the case with Wykeham's contemporaries. For a long period men had been contented to leave the very moderate amount of learning which any one possessed, entirely to the clergy. Men sowed and reaped, bought and sold, fought and made peace, married and died, without troubling themselves about book-learning. If a letter had to be written, or a deed engrossed, one of the brethren of the nearest convent undertook the task. If any one was troubled with religious difficulties, he repaired to his confessor, who straightway set his mind at ease. If any one thirsted for knowledge, he was free to enter a monas-

tery, and get for himself all the knowledge which that age could supply. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this condition of things had slowly been breaking up. Pilgrims from the East, and the remnant of the Crusading hosts, brought back with them some tincture of the learning still flourishing in the countries they visited. Some sense of the disadvantage under which the prevalent ignorance of their countrymen placed them, began to dawn on men's minds. A desire for education gradually grew up; and for a generation or two previous to Wykeham's time, efforts had been made to supply the want. Colleges were founded in Oxford and Cambridge, the earliest of them dating from the reign of Henry III. Schools were provided by the larger monasteries, where any, who chose it, might be instructed. Oxford, the principal centre of education, was crowded with students; and though the numbers of these have been extravagantly overstated, there were enough to shew how widely the thirst for knowledge was extending.

The efforts thus made, however, were desultory and confused. Students of all ages, and all degrees of proficiency, were mixed together, and there was a total lack of discipline and order. In Oxford, where the largest number of these schools existed, there were continual disturbances of the gravest character, not only between the students and citizens, but amongst the students themselves, frequently involving destruction of houses and loss of life. Twice these disorders reached such a height, that the scholars emigrated in a body—once to Stamford, and once to Northampton. Wykeham perceived the necessity of reducing the tangled web to order, and devised a system of education whereby a boy might

be carried progressively forward, from his first introduction to the rudiments of learning, to his entrance on life, a finished scholar. He devised, in fact, the Public School system^a, which has prevailed in England, almost unaltered, even to the present day, and has exercised an amount of influence on the English character which it is difficult to estimate or realise. The parent who receives his son home again, after a course of education at an English Public School and University, a scholar and a gentleman—is little aware how much he owes to the wise and generous bishop who, five hundred years ago, created these advantages for him.

When Wykeham fairly set himself to work in carrying out the schemes he had long contemplated, he resolved to build the college at Oxford first, and afterwards that at Winchester. His first step was to purchase the site for the former. This was obtained from a variety of owners,—from St. Frideswide's Convent; from the Abbey of Oseney; from the recently-founded College of Queen Philippa, and a variety of private owners. Many obstacles intervened, and it was fully ten years before the whole was acquired. The royal licence and Papal Bull, authorising the establishment of the college, were obtained in the summer of 1379. Seven years afterwards, the Warden and Fellows made their solemn entry into the new building, with hymns and litanies, and took possession of it.

Wykeham's first work was completed, and he was

^a Walter de Merton, whose date is a century anterior to Wykeham, may claim the credit of the collegiate system at the University, which he initiated. Wykeham supplemented his design, by adding to it the previous preparation of the public school. They are, perhaps, England's two greatest benefactors.

free to enter on the second ; which we may be sure he did not regard as of less importance or interest than the first. Long ere he commenced the actual building, he had gathered together the boys whose successors he had designed to lodge within it,—providing them with temporary accommodation on St. Giles's hill. As in the former instance, his first care was to secure the site. The spot he chose lay outside the King's-gate, abutting on the road leading from that point, under the city walls, towards Wolvesey. The land here belonged principally to the Priory of St. Swithin ; from which he purchased Dummer's Mede, containing an acre and a-half, with a messuage attached thereto. This was bounded on the west by the Sustern Spytal (or Sisters' Hospital) ; on the north, by a long strip of waste land intervening between it and the high road ; on the east, by a house called Garité^b, situated nearly opposite to the entrance to Wolvesey Palace ; and on the south, by "Otterbourne Mede," a plot of ground abutting on the property of the Carmelite friars. This mead, three acres in extent, he also purchased. In 1392 he obtained two grants from the king, permitting him to enclose the waste piece of ground already referred to, as situate between Dummer's Mede and the road, and another immediately adjoining it, of one rod, which was the property of the Sustern Spytal.

He had scarcely obtained possession, when a litigious tailor, named Devereux, put in a claim for a portion of Dummer's Mede, as being the property of his wife. He brought an action of ejectment

^b This house has been called by almost all writers on the subject *Carité*. On the authority of the Rev. W. H. Gunner, I have written it "Garité." It appears to have been a watch-house, as its name implies.

against the bishop, which was duly tried in the Court of King's Bench, and judgment was given against the plaintiff. The costs, heavy for those times, amounted to £200, which the tailor was unable to pay. It would have gone ill with him if Wykeham, out of the goodness of his heart, had not himself paid the costs of the action, and further pensioned the unlucky litigant.

All obstructions being now removed, the bishop proceeded to the execution of his design. He laid the first stone himself (as he had done that of his former building) on the 26th of March, 1387. The first portion of the work commenced was the chapel—the exact reverse of the plan almost invariably pursued in the nineteenth century, which leaves the chapel to be added, after the completion of the rest of the structure—and the offices and outbuildings were the last. The whole occupied six years in building. On the 28th of March, 1393, Wykeham entered his completed college, preceded by his cross-bearer, and followed by his newly-appointed Warden, Masters, and Scholars, chanting hymns and prayers, and solemnly took possession of it. We will now proceed to give a description of its various parts in detail.

To begin with the frontage in College-street. This has often been complained of by visitors, who come to view Wykeham's work impressed with a notion of the splendour and grace of his buildings, and behold what is little better than a blank wall, pierced by a few irregular and insignificant windows. It should be premised, that originally the façade was not so bare as it now appears, two small oriels near the gateway having been removed some two centuries ago. But, doubtless, this frontage never could have

possessed any architectural attractions, nor would it have been in accordance with Wykeham's principles to have attempted to invest with any show of dignity or pretension, what were mere outbuildings. Those, too, were times, it should be remembered, when, if every man's house was not his castle, it had at least need to be so. It was but a few years previously to the laying of the first stone, that a disorderly rabble, armed with swords and poleaxes, had gone about the country—even in the neighbourhood of Winchester, some said—plundering all who submitted to them, and slaying without mercy all who resisted. A high, solid wall, with no windows through which marauders could force their way, was then as necessary to the security of a dwelling-house, as a front door is now-a-days to keep out tramps; and there were articles which such visitors as I have described would be extremely pleased to lay their hands on—hard money, (for men were then their own bankers,) jewels, and plate, and vessels for the altar, which would have been a rich prize to any one who could secure them.

But if the wall is poor, the gateway beyond is massive and imposing. The dripstone-moulding of the arch rests on two busts, of a king and a bishop—doubtless King Richard, and Wykeham himself—though the mutilation they have suffered makes it difficult to distinguish them. Above, in the ornamented central niche, is a full-length statue of the Virgin Mary, the patron saint, which has occupied the same position since the Founder's days. Milner expresses his wonder that this figure, occupying so prominent a place in the public street, should have escaped the violence of the Puritans in the seventeenth century; who have left their marks plainly

enough on the busts, which must needs have been much less offensive in their eyes. The Wykehamist, whoever he was, who set a guard at the college gate, and peremptorily forbade that violence should be offered to anything within the walls, must have had his men tighter in hand than was generally the case with Roundheads^c. One would have thought that Cromwell himself could hardly have restrained the hands of his troopers on such an occasion.

Passing under the groined roof, where Wykeham's arms are exhibited, and over which is the bursary, the visitor finds himself in the outer court of the college, one hundred and twenty-eight feet long and sixty-three wide. The portion which lies to his right has undergone little alteration. In it are contained the Porter's-lodge, the brewhouse, the mechanic's workshops; and (turning the corner towards the south) the Warden's stables. In front of these is a low wall, shutting off the stable-yard, and here is seen a carved lion's head, a relic of St. Elizabeth's College. To the left of the gateway the buildings are either modern, or have been diverted from their ancient uses. Formerly, to the immediate left of the gate, were the bakehouses, with store-rooms above them for flour and malt, the butcher's room and slaughter-house—these and the bakehouses communicating, by small courts, directly with the stream which now runs through the Warden's garden. The symmetry of the court has been destroyed, and the northern façade of the central quadrangle spoiled, by the erection of a house for the Warden^d, partly on the site of

^c His name is not certainly known, but it is generally believed that he was either Colonel Fiennes, brother of Lord Saye and Sele, or Nicholas Love, son of the Warden of the same name.

^d Built by Warden Harman, A.D. 1597. He is said to have

the baking, malting, and slaughter houses, partly on the open space formerly intervening between the bakehouse and the middle quadrangle; so that the visitor on entering the court, finds the whole space to the left blocked by buildings. It is greatly to be regretted that advantage was not taken, when extensive repairs were made in 1832 in the Warden's house, of the opportunity of removing this eyesore. If the buildings which now form the entrance-hall and offices under the picture-gallery, had been pulled down, and a frontage constructed beyond the present drawing-room, between it and the Warden's stream—quite as convenient a house would have been obtained, and Wykeham's building would have regained its original proportions. In the gallery are the pictures of most of the Wardens, as well as of Archbishop Howley, Bishops Lake, Ken, and Dr. Goddard.

Opposite the entrance-tower is the gateway of the middle court, which is about one hundred feet square. The gateway itself, twenty-two feet by seventeen, resembles the outer tower, but is loftier, and has on either side three niches containing statues of the Virgin Mary in the centre, with the angel Gabriel and the Founder represented as kneeling. The room over this gate, used subsequently as "election chamber," was originally the Warden's chief apartment: he had also one room to the west of it, and all those to the east as far as the north-eastern angle of the court. The two rooms between the Warden's apartments and the western wall, were assigned to the two Masters and one Fellow. In the western range, still on the same

removed the oriels, but he is not chargeable with this, as they are exhibited in Loggan's view of the college executed long after his time. The garden-front was the work of Warden Nicolas: it was repaired and improved by Warden Lee in the last century.

floor, were quartered the three Chaplains. Their lodging, and that assigned to the Masters, now form part of the Second Master's house. Opposite, on the east, are three chambers which were allotted to the Fellows, three in each chamber. On this side also, at the south-east corner adjoining the chapel, is the muniment-tower. In the basement-storey east and north, are the six "chambers" in which the boys were originally lodged, and on the west the kitchen, offices, and hall-staircase.

The southern façade, not yet mentioned, is by far the most magnificent portion of the structure, and presents an appearance rarely equalled. It consists of the chapel, internally ninety-three feet in length, thirty in breadth, and fifty-seven in height; and immediately adjoining it, the refectory, sixty-three feet long and the same width as the chapel. To the right of the hall lies the buttery, to which access is obtained by the broad staircase outside. Over the buttery, and approached by a winding stair opening from the corner adjoining it, is the audit room. In the basement below the hall, to the west, under the buttery is the cellar, (*a spécialité* in its way, its groined roof resting on a single central pillar). Adjoining that, is the original school-room of the college, thirty feet wide by thirty long^e; the corridor leading from the middle to the school court, known as "seventh chamber passage;" and the ambulatory, by which access is gained to the cloister.

These latter—which are not built in parallel lines with the quadrangle, but are more nearly due east and west—form an exact square of one hundred and

* When Warden Nicolas built the great room in 1687, the old school was converted into a dormitory, and thenceforth known as "seventh chamber."

thirty-two feet, and are something less than twelve feet in width from wall to window. The space within the inner walls is laid with turf, and has been for some time the burying-place of the college. In the centre stands the ancient chantry, built by John Fromond, the Founder's Steward, at whose cost also the cloisters were erected. At the time of the Reformation it was converted into a library, for which purpose it was, till quite recently, used. Between the cloisters and the ante-chapel stands the Tower, one hundred feet in height, built by the benefactions of Warden Thorburn and others^f, half-a-century or so after the Founder's death. Wykeham had erected a wooden campanile nearly on the same spot.

Such is a general outline of what may be roughly termed the original buildings. We will now speak more particularly of such of them as are especially conspicuous for interest or architectural beauty. It may here be remarked, that this quadrangle also has undergone less alteration than almost any similar building of its time^g. If the mullions and tracery were replaced in the windows of the upper storey, and certain changes, made in the kitchen, undone, the structure would be nearly the same as that, into which Wykeham made his entrance in 1393. The style, it is true, cannot vie in beauty of form with some of the specimens, which the architects of two or three generations preceding his time have bequeathed us. The Perpendicular school undoubtedly exhibits a decadence of taste; but in Wykeham's time the decadence had hardly become perceptible. The arches of the

^f Wardens Chaundler and Bekynton, as well as Waynflete, contributed to the work.

^g The library quadrangle of Merton College is a century older, and has, I believe, undergone even less alteration; but it cannot match in beauty with that of Winchester.

doorways throughout, and those of the chapel and hall windows, are peculiarly graceful; the quaint emblematic figures in the wall above the windows are worth a careful study; the muniment-tower, with its exquisitely-proportioned turret, and the great staircase opposite, are objects which at once arrest and charm the spectator. But though each detail is in itself admirable, it is the harmonious combination of all which forms the chief attraction^h.

Entering the chapel, we are at once impressed by the grandeur of its height and the perfection of its symmetry. Until quite recently it was deformed by the intrusion of seventeenth-century panelling, to admit which the original stalls had been removed, and the beautiful reredos destroyed. It had suffered even more by the introduction of a high screen, in the same style, obtruding a considerable distance into the chapel, constituting not only a displeasing anomaly with the general style of the building, but utterly ruining its artistic proportions. Happily this blunder has been rectified. The wainscoting and screen have been taken away, the old stalls replaced so far as they go, and the original reredos reproduced, thanks to the loyal bounty of one of the noblest among the sons of Wykeham. The roof is richly groined, and resembles that of the cathedral, though less loaded with ornament. Its curious fan-tracery, which is thought to have been Wykeham's own invention, has been imitated in stone by the architect of King's College Chapel at Cambridge.

^h Between the third and fourth buttresses on the northern side of the chapel is an arched doorway, which has been walled up. It is surmounted by the arms of the Uvedall family, with the legend "Uvedallus Wiccami Patronus." The closing-up of the door is obviously connected with the internal alteration of the chapel by Warden Nicolas, whose screen would interfere with this entrance.

The building is lighted by nine large windows, the painted glass in which was carefully restored from the original pattern—and with unusual success, considering the date at which the work was executed—by Messrs. Evans, of Shrewsbury, early in the present century. They contain full-length figures of Prophets and Saints, Scriptural and mediæval, mixed together without any intelligible order. The great east window, forty feet high and twenty-four wide, representing what is called the “Root of Jesse,” is the grandest feature of the chapel. In the three lower central lights is depicted the figure of Jesse recumbent, from whom springs the vine, whence the “Son of David” is to proceed. Above him are the images of David, Solomon, the Virgin and Child, and the Saviour Himself on the Cross surmounting all, with the Virgin and St. John on either side. To the right and left, in the upper compartments, are depicted the more eminent of David’s line and of the Hebrew Prophets. In the lower tier are seen “the Salutation,” King Edward III. and his grandson, and Wykeham himself¹. In the tracery above the Crucifixion are St. Peter and St. Paul, and the Resurrection. Over the altar formerly hung a beautiful picture, by Le Moine, of the Annunciation, presented to the college by Dr. Burton: this has now been removed to the Warden’s house. The two silver-gilt altar-candlesticks were the gift of Christopher Eyre, sometime Second Master; the font, of the present Bishop of Salisbury; the eagle, of certain college Præfects in 1848.

The west end of the chapel at present exhibits

¹ Small figures, representing, after the quaint fashion of the day, the clerk of the works, the mason, the carpenter, and the glazier, are to be seen near the head and feet of Jesse.

a bare white wall, unbroken anywhere by sculpture or colouring, and presenting of necessity a most cheerless appearance. It must be obvious to every one how great would be the improvement to both ends of the building, if the organ were removed from its present anomalous position over the sacristy door, and transferred to the western wall. If this proved insufficient to relieve the surface of dead white, colouring might be employed, as probably was the case in the earliest times^k. At the south-west angle of the chapel, *circa* 1470, a chantry chapel was erected, according to the bequests of Warden Thorburn; and the Tower, of which mention has already been made, was added immediately above it. The architect, it must be presumed, was incompetent to the task he undertook. Sufficient strength was not secured beneath to support the weight of this structure. It began gradually to give way, endangering the wall of the chapel also, until, in 1772, an architect named Essex endeavoured to preserve the tottering building by placing under it a solid wall, by which Warden Thorburn's chapel was severed in twain. But even this expedient would not set matters right. Twenty years ago it had become dangerous to ring the bells, and it was found necessary to take steps for the entire rebuilding of the tower. Subscriptions were accordingly raised by Wykehamists for the purpose; and, as a proper punishment to Warden Thorburn for his architectural sins, or those of his executors, the name of the Tower was taken away from him, and given to Wardens Williams and Barter, to whom the subscribers were at the same time invited to render honour. The expedient

^k This is Mr. Cockerell's opinion. The Last Judgment is the usual subject in such a situation.

and the beautiful were in this manner skilfully combined. A Latin inscription against the southern wall records the merits of these two admirable men ; who were beautiful in their lives, and whose memory in their death should not be divided. One of the windows in this chantry was, in 1848, filled with painted glass¹, as a testimonial to the Bishop of St. Andrew's, for some ten years Hostiarius ; and another, in 1877, to the memory of Mr. J. D. Walford, for forty years Mathematical Master at the college.

Quitting the chapel through the door under the organ, the visitor enters the sacristy. This is a vaulted room, in which formerly not only the vestments, but the plate and jewels for the service of the altar were kept. Here is a curious wooden platform, to which there is a flight of steps ; and it would seem that there was once an opening directly into the chapel through the wall. A winding staircase proceeds upwards to the muniment-room, a strong and fireproof chamber, curious in itself, and containing many articles of great interest. The ceiling is vaulted and springs from supporters, representing an archbishop, a bishop, and a king ; and over the door is the carved figure of a guardian angel. The windows are guarded by the original shutters, sheathed in iron. The ancient oak presses still contain the papal bulls, title-deeds of estates, and charters which were deposited there three centuries ago. The travelling-cases in which the mitres were wont to be carried

¹ The window contains five lights, and the painted glass is designed to represent the teaching of the late Hostiarius. The first light exhibits the administration of Baptism : the second, of Catechetical teaching ; the third, of the Priesthood ; the fourth, of Confirmation ; the fifth, of the Holy Eucharist, with the inscription, (1.) "Baptizatos, (2.) Catechesi, (3) Pastor, (4) per Confirmationem, (5) ad S. Eucharistiam discipulos ducebat."

about still survive, whole, though somewhat decayed by age.

Again descending to the chapel, and passing out by the main door, the stranger finds himself in the ambulatory leading to the cloisters. Here, almost within living memory, stood the bench where the boys were wont to go "circum"^m every evening, that is, repair thither to say their private prayers. Some twenty years ago the wall of this passage was decorated by a monument placed there to the memory of such Wykehamists as fell in the Crimean War of 1854, 5. It consists of an arcade of five openings, surmounted by a plinth, the pillars being of polished marble supporting angels as capitals. Beneath the arches on either side are the names of those commemorated, with an inscription in the central space from the pen of the late Warden Barter. Opinion may be divided as to the merits of the design; but there can be no dispute about that of the inscription, which may safely be pronounced one of the most beautiful in the English languageⁿ.

Passing through the ambulatory, and leaving to the left a small court at the base of the Tower, the visitor enters the cloisters, the dimensions of which have been already given. The beauty of these impresses him, no less than their solemn quiet. The roof consists of a series of segmental arches of Irish oak. On the inner side there is a succession of three-lighted windows, unglazed, nine on each side, with buttresses between. Beneath these windows are stone benches, on which, in times preceding the Revolution, the boys were wont to sit during the summer months, when school was held in the cloisters. It is probable

^m See Glossary on word.

ⁿ See Appendix to this Chapter.

that they were allowed to frequent them at other times also during the day, as great numbers of names have been carved on the piers and splays of the windows. Among these are pointed out those of Ken and his friend Turner, two of the noblest characters in history. Along the outer wall are a great number of brasses and monumental inscriptions; records chiefly of former Wardens, Head-masters and Fellows.

Fromond's chantry, in the centre of the square, is a building thirty-six feet long by eighteen wide. In the reign of Henry VIII. it was suppressed along with all other chantries, and converted into a library. It is an interesting structure. The roof is groined, and the bosses adorned with shields bearing the arms of Henry VI., Cardinal Beaufort, and others. There is a five-light window filled with painted glass, consisting of fragments skilfully fitted together, and two three-light windows on either side. The collection of books is not large, but of unusual value. Above the ceiling there is a small chamber, believed to have been designed as a scriptorium.

Ascending now the great staircase, the hall is the next object of interest to be visited. This too is a noble apartment; it has a fine open oak roof, resting on corbels, representing the heads of kings and bishops, a series of double-light windows on either side, two looking into School Court, and three facing Middle Gate. The walls are wainscoted with oak, the gift of Dean Fleshmonger in the reign of Elizabeth. Archbishop Warham is also recorded to have bestowed tapestry for its adornment. The wall above the dais used to be garnished with a picture of the Founder, but only on the occasion of the festivities in election-week. In the centre anciently stood the charcoal-brazier, by which the hall was

warmed in severe weather, the smoke escaping by the lantern above. In modern times a stove has been introduced in lieu of this, with a flue carrying off the fumes of the coal beneath the floor. Near the lower end is the "tub," into which the broken meat, &c. is cast, for distribution among the poor.

At the corner of the buttery-wall to the north-east is a staircase leading down to the cellar beneath the buttery, and also upwards to the audit room over that building. The audit room is one of the most interesting features of the college, and carries those who visit it back into the fourteenth century, there being nothing to remind him of any later date. The floor is paved with ancient Flemish tiles; the walls hung with tapestry, of a date coeval with the building; the battered coats of mail in the quaint locker above the door; the massive iron-bound "hutch," with its triple lock, in which the Founder's valuables were kept; the solid oaken tables and high-backed chairs—all of them testify of centuries long past and gone. Above this rare old chamber, in the angle of the roof, is another, much smaller room, lighted by three low windows. It bears the name of the library, but could hardly have been designed for that purpose. It has been conjectured, reasonably enough, that the "books" kept there were simply those containing the college accounts.

Once more descending to the basement, we have to visit the college kitchen, which lies immediately to the right of the great staircase. In front of this some forty years ago, there stood a portico raised on three pillars, over some water-taps inserted in the wall. In this conduit, the college boys were expected to perform their ablutions in the open air, summer and winter alike. On a sharp morning in

December, or when a bitter wind and sleet drove full into the faces of the washers, the situation was not an agreeable one; though I doubt whether it ever caused much distress to the presumed sufferers. Near to it is the door of the office leading to the kitchen, a spacious and lofty room extending half way down the western side of the court. On the wall immediately facing you as you enter, is seen the far-famed portrait of the Trusty Servant, with the verses, in Latin and English, descriptive of his merits. The figure is attired in a blue serving-man's coat, vest, and bands, and has the head of a pig, the ears of an ass, and the feet of a stag. His mouth is closed with a padlock; his right hand is spread open; his left holds a pitchfork, a shovel, and a broom. His sword is girded to his side, and a shield hangs from his elbow. The meaning of all these symbols is expressed in the following lines:—

“A ‘trusty servant’s’ portrait would you see,
This emblematic figure well survey.
The porker’s snout not nice in diet shews;
The padlock shut, no secrets he’ll disclose.
Patient the ass, his master’s wrath to bear;
Swiftness on errand, the stag’s feet declare.
Loaded his left hand, apt to labour saith;
The vest, his neatness; open hand, his faith.
Girt with his sword, his shield upon his arm,
Himself and Master he’ll protect from harm.”

The costume of the figure shews the present painting to belong to the early part of the last century; but it has several times been re-painted. In the *Computus Book* of the year 1637, an item of thirteen shillings is charged for a payment “*pictori pingenti servum et carmina.*” But it is believed that the

° See further Appendix to the Chapter.

figure was designed in the time of C. Johnson, who was Head-master in 1560; the verses having been found in a MS. book of that date, mixed up with others known, beyond doubt, to be his. It has also been proved that a picture nearly resembling it, and called by the same name, was frequently painted on the walls of houses in France, at that period.

Beyond the great quadrangle, in the Founder's time, there was nothing southward but gardens and pastures, surrounded by the strong and high wall with which he enclosed the whole of the property he purchased, together with the infirmary or sanatorium, built at the south-west corner of Otterbourn Mead. This, it is presumed, was replaced by "Sick House," built by Warden Harris in 1640, and enlarged by John Taylor, Fellow of the college in 1775.

On the west, adjoining the Sustern Spytal, there was nothing exhibited but the blank wall of the Warden's stables, and its continuation towards Otterbourn Mead; but on the east, the façade seen from the Warden's garden must have been—indeed, still is, strikingly beautiful. In particular the east end of the chapel, rising more than sixty feet in height, with the noble Jesse window and the niched and canopied image of St. Mary^p surmounting the central gable, is a most imposing object. At the corresponding gable to the west, is a statue of St. Michael with sword and spear transfixing the dragon.

^p The statue of the Blessed Virgin occurs four times in conspicuous parts of the college, and doubtless one or two similar representations were placed originally in the chapel. The reason of this, says Milner, is that the Founder, even in childhood had chosen the Virgin Mary as his special patroness, and probably imagined that his success in life was owing to her favour.

CHAPTER III.

ST. MARY WINTON.—THE CONSTITUTION.

SUCH was the fabric, designed by Wykeham, and built under his personal supervision, for the reception of his scholars. We have now to speak of the constitution of the college, its component members, and the rules laid down for its government. These are specified by the Founder with the most minute precision.

It should be borne in mind, that the purpose of the Founder was not (as is so generally supposed) simply to establish a school where a liberal education might be given to those who desired it, but were unable to pay the cost. This was part of his design, but not the whole. It may even be doubted whether this was the object he had most at heart^a. He was especially anxious to found a college where perpetual service might be kept up for the living and the dead, in accordance with the religious mind of his day. In the Preface to his Statutes, he declares that he founds his college "*ad divini cultus, liberaliumque artium augmentum*;" and in the concluding paragraph he repeats the sentiment. "The rules and enactments," he tells his scholars, "have been drawn up *ad Dei laudem et gloriam, ac beatissimæ Mariæ Virginis, matris ejus, Divinique cultus*

^a "Potissimum hæc duo spectabat, *primum* ut sociis, capellanis, clericis, et pueris symphoniacis cultus divinus quotidie in sacrario suo publice et solemniter procuraretur. *Deinde* ut illi septuaginta scholares . . . quidquid ad humaniorum literarum studia pertinet docerentur."—Martin, l. iii. cap. i.



Election Chamber.

augmentum, ac studii scholastici profectum." It will be noted that, in both instances, the maintenance of divine service is made the *first* of the two objects.

This twofold purpose explains much that might otherwise seem unintelligible in some of his arrangements, and has been the chief cause of the necessity, which has arisen in modern times, for a new adjustment of his benefactions. While one part of his scheme continues, even in the present age, to be of the same practical value as on the day of its conception, the other has ceased, for many generations past, to have any real meaning, remaining as the dead limbs of a tree will sometimes remain on the parent stem, which still retains its life and vigour. The time must come when these must be lopped off, or decay may spread into the part still sound.

The college is to consist, first, of a Warden, who is to be supreme over all persons within its walls^b, and rule it in accordance with the Statutes; and of ten Fellows, who are to be elected for life, unless (as in the instance of the Warden also) they should be guilty of certain grave offences, for which they are liable to deprivation; secondly, of three chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers; thirdly, of seventy scholars, a Head-master, and an Usher or Under-master. The chaplains, the clerks, and the choristers are appointed almost entirely with a view to the maintenance of the first of the two objects attributed to the Founder, the continual chapel services and Masses^c; the Masters and scholars, to carry

^b "Unius custodis, qui omnibus ejusdem collegii personis possessionibus, rebus, et bonis, secundum ordinationes et statuta nostra præmineat."—Stat. Rub. I.

^c The various services in the college chapel required of the Fellows, Chaplains, &c. daily, as well as those belonging to Festivals, &c., and the private masses to be said for certain in-

out the second. The Warden and Fellows are concerned with both.

A theory has been advanced, first, by Harpsfield, *circa* 1550, that these numbers have what Herodotus calls "a sacred meaning." He understands the Warden and ten Fellows to symbolize the Apostles (Judas being excluded for his apostasy, and Matthias not considered one of the twelve;) the six Chaplains and Clerks, to represent the six orthodox Deacons, Nicolas being omitted on account of his (presumed) heresy; the two masters and the seventy boys, the seventy-two sent out by our Lord to preach (the vulgate reading of St. Luke x. 1 being "septuaginta *duos*"); and the sixteen choristers, the four major and twelve minor prophets. This theory derives some support from the fact, that Colet, in Henry VIII.'s time, fixed the number of his scholars at a hundred and fifty-three, where the symbolical meaning is, of course, beyond dispute. But this seems to be all that can be urged in its favour. Wykeham, though he imposes on the members of the college, in the most earnest terms, his injunctions to live in Christian unity and brotherhood, never alleges this mystical resemblance to the "glorious company of the Apostles and goodly fellowship of the Prophets" as a special reason for maintaining it, as one would think he would have done, had such been his idea. Nor does Christopher Johnson appear to know anything of it. Nor, again, were these same numbers retained at Eton^d, the affiliated foundation, which so closely copied its parent's ways.

dividuals, whose names are specified, are given at length in Rub. 28, 29. They are almost sufficient in themselves to employ the entire day.

^d There it is a Provost, ten Fellows, *four* clerks, six choristers, twenty-five scholars, and as many almsmen. It would not

To speak seriatim of these several items of Wykeham's foundation—we have, first, the Warden. He is to be elected by the Fellows of New College, and must be thirty years of age and in Priest's orders, a past or present Fellow of New or Winchester Colleges, a graduate in Canon or Civil Law, or a Master of Arts. He is to receive £20 a-year, twelve yards of cloth every Christmas, at 1s. 8d. the yard, and sufficient food to supply his table. Two horses and three servants are to be kept for his service. He is to reside ten months in every year^e.

The Fellows are to be elected by the Warden and Fellows. They are to be in Priest's orders, and a preference is given to present, or former, Fellows of New College. They are to have £5 a-year, twelve-pence weekly for commons^f, and eight yards of cloth. They are required to reside eight of the twelve months in the year. One of the ten is to be elected Sub-warden, and two more Bursars: the first-named is to act as Sacristan and Precentor, having charge of the sacred vessels and other church ornaments,

be difficult to assign symbolical meanings to these numbers also, or, indeed, to any numbers whatsoever: but that fact somewhat weakens Harpsfield's theory.

^e It is not easy to estimate the precise amount of the college revenues at its first institution; but, judging from the payments made to the various officials, it does not appear that they had undergone much change in Henry the Eighth's time, when they were returned at £710 8s. The salary of the Warden (Edward More), in 1538, is given at £22 18s. 8d.; that of each of the ten Fellows at £7 8s. 5d.; of the Informator, £11 18s. 5d.; of the Hostiarius, £4 9s. 4d.; of Fromond's Chantry Priest, £6 13s. 4d.—(Valor Ecclesiast., 29th Henry VIII., vol. ii. p. iv.) The value of the college property in 1854 was reported as between £15,000 and £16,000 a-year. The Warden had £1,700 a-year; the Fellows, £500 a-year each; the chaplains, clerk, and choristers cost £860; the scholars, £3,400.

^f That is in ordinary years: when the price of provisions is exceptionally high, they are to have 16d.

also conducting the chapel services. As Sub-warden he is to be paid £1 6s. 8d. extra, and as Sacristan 13s. 4d. The Bursars take charge of the college accounts, and receive 13s. 4d. each for so doing. All the Fellows, in turn, are to examine and distribute the provisions for the daily meals.

The Informator is to be elected by the Warden and Fellows. He is to be a person of sufficient knowledge of grammar, skilled in teaching, of good repute and conversation. He is to have £10 a-year, the same commons and allowance of cloth as the Fellows. He is required to punish the boys, in moderation, if they offend^g, but to give notice to the Warden, "*sine morâ*," of any punishment he inflicts. In case they will not submit, he is immediately to report them to the Warden.

The Hostiarius, or Second-master, also, is required to be a man of good reputation, who is to assist the Head-master when present, and take his place when absent; he is to have five marks as salary^h, 12d. commons, and five yards of cloth. Both head and under-master are to be "*conductitii et remotivi*." Neither are to take any money from the scholars in payment for their instruction.

The scholars, seventy in number, are to be lodged, boarded, clothed, and taught entirely free of cost to themselves. Eightpence is to be paid to the Bursar for their commons, and they are to have cloth enough given them to make one long gown and hood. All the new clothes are to be given out on the Feast of the Nativity, and for the first year the scholars are to wear their new gowns only on Sun-

^g "*Hâc adhibitâ semper cautelâ, quod in castigando, modum nequaquam excedat.*"—Stat. Rub. 12.

^h The mark was equivalent in value to 13s. 4d.

day and Holydays. They are to be elected by what is called the Chamber, consisting of six persons—(1.) the Warden of New College; (2.) the Warden of Winchester; (3, 4.) two Fellows of New College, called Senior and Junior Poser; (5.) the Sub-warden of Winchester; (6.) the Head-master. The Senior Poser is to be “*unus de discretioribus sociis ejusdem collegii (New College) gradu magistratus, in facultate Philosophiæ, seu in Theologia graduatus;*” and the Junior, “*unus alius gradu Doctoratus aut Baccalaureatus in facultate juris civilis aut Canonici.*”

The election for this purpose is to be held once in every year, between the Feast of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7) and Oct. 1. Anciently, as in Bishop Ken's time, the latter date was the one chosen; but of late years, it was always the practice to hold it as soon as possible after St. Thomas à Becket's day. It will be better to give an account of the doings of election-week in this place, as the changes which have recently been made are of so sweeping a character, as to render the old proceeding quite a thing of the past.

The Statutes order, in the first place, that due notice shall be sent by the Warden of New College of the day appointed for the election, six weeks previous to its occurrence. This notice is to be duly acknowledged by the authorities at Winchester, and then fixed to the college gates, where it is to remain till the Tuesday in election-week, when the Visitors from New College arrive.

In early days, they made the journey over the Berkshire downs on horseback, usually resting at Newbury for the night. This, indeed, was the only mode of transit possible for several centuries after the foundation of the college. Even in the Stuart times,

a coach journey of sixty miles was a tedious, often a dangerous affair, and so costly, that none but personages of the highest rank, with large means, thought of attempting it. Setting out on the Monday from Oxford, the Warden of New College and his companions would reach Winchester on the afternoon of Tuesday. This, therefore, remained the traditional time of their arrival, long after the date when the journey had become one of a few hours only.

The first notice of their approach was the appearance of the "Speedyman," one of whose offices in the olden times used to be to travel from Oxford to Winchester, to notify a vacancy. He arrived on the Tuesday, in a gig, and mounting a ladder provided by the porter, took down the notices which had been fastened up. Then came the great men themselves: they were met by the whole Wykehamical body at Middle-gate, where the Præfect of Hall (one of the senior boys) addressed them in a Latin oration, which was called "ad Portas." Two other orations were also delivered on the same day in school: one called "Fundator," celebrating the praises of Wykeham; and the other styled "Elizabeth and Jacob," a speech in honour of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Benefactions have been left to remunerate the speakers of these compositions¹, of which an account is given in a subsequent chapter. The first of the two last named, was delivered by the senior Founder's kin, the other by the Præfect of School. On the same day also, the whole of the Electors, the Masters, and as many visitors as chose, attended in the school, to hear the Prize Medal tasks of the year recited. On this day

¹ See Chap. v. p. 87.

also took place the "scrutiny," as it was called, in election-chamber. This was a curious relic of the past. The seven senior and seven junior boys were summoned before the "chamber," and inquiries made of them as to the condition of things in college, whether they had any complaint to make, &c. Whether this had, at any time, any practical result in causing reforms of real or imagined abuses is, I should think, a doubtful matter. In modern times, the complaints were generally limited to the prevalence of rats and mice in the college, or, possibly, the bad quality of the college beer.

On the Wednesday morning, the business of the election proper began. The candidates for admission to the college, humorously styled "candlesticks," were summoned before the chamber, and examined. As the admission to college was by nomination, this was the merest form. Each candidate took up some piece of a Latin author of his own selection; in which, of course, he had been duly coached. As by the Statutes he was required to take part in the choral services in the chapel, he was asked if "he could sing?" He confidently replying that he could, —as, indeed, it is to be presumed, everybody can after a fashion,—he was required to prove his vocal powers, by repeating the words, "All people that on earth do dwell," after the Head-master. After which he was dismissed; and the roll, already drawn up before the entrance of the candidates, was formally written out and published.

This done, the examination of the three Fardels—the seniors, the middle division, and the juniors in Sixth Book—came on, and was a much more serious affair. It lasted till Thursday evening, when the "roll," (that is to say, the list of the boys' names

in their final order) was issued by the examiners ; and this determined the succession to New College. The two senior Founders were always placed at the head of it ; and as an ordinary rule, 'the other boys' names followed in school order. But sometimes, if a boy had been exceptionally idle, or had broken down very badly in the examination, he was put down below those next him on the list. This was not only accounted a great disgrace, but almost certainly involved the loss of New College. It was—in the olden time, at all events—of rare occurrence.

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, there were grand dinners in the college hall, and healths drunk, and complimentary speeches made. The Founder's picture was hung up on the screen above the dais ; and the graces before and after meat were beautifully intoned. The Bible-clerk for the week read the Gospel—for the previous Sunday, after the first course on the Wednesday ; and for the ensuing Sunday, on the Thursday. The boys were present at the dinners on these two occasions ; but on the Friday, when the number of visitors was greater, they did not dine with the electors. On that day, after dinner, the principal guests adjourned to the Warden's picture-gallery, where speeches were again made.

On the Friday evening also took place the singing of *Domum* ; which, on this occasion, was rendered more effective by bands of music, and volunteers among the visitors. It took place first in school, which was decorated for the occasion with flags and green boughs, &c. ; after that it was repeated in Meads, and finally in Middle Court, the enthusiasm of the performers increasing with each repetition. Then followed the Superannuates' Ball at St. John's

House, which was wont to be kept up to a late hour on Saturday morning ; and then the election festivities came to an end.

As regards the examination of the candidates for admission to the college, briefly noticed above, it is proper to observe, that the Founder, in his Statutes, lays down some very definite and positive directions. He requires that a preference shall be given, in the first instance, to his own kindred, if any apply for admission. After them are to come applicants from those parishes in which the college property is situated, or from the diocese of Winchester. Failing these, candidates from the eleven counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Somerset, and Wilts, are to be preferred : and failing these again, any candidates who may present themselves. He further stipulates, that they shall be "*pauperes indigentes*," not under eight or over twelve years of age (unless there are special circumstances to cause an exception^j) ; boys of good character, studiously disposed, and competently instructed in reading, plain song, and the elements of grammar^k. If the electors cannot agree as to who are the most deserving candidates, the question is to be determined by the vote of the majority^l.

The scholars, when elected, are to be allowed to

^j "*Nisi infra ætatis suæ septendecimum annum constitutus, taliter forsan in grammaticâ fuerit informatus, quod ante octodecimum ætatis suæ annum completum, judicio eligentium in grammaticâ sufficienter possit expediri.*"—Statut. Rub. 2.

^k "*In antiquo Donato.*" Ælius Donatus was a celebrated grammarian of the fourth century, tutor to St. Jerome. His treatise on grammar was the general text-book in mediæval times.

^l Note here, that the Statutes plainly know nothing of the nomination system.

remain in college until they attain their eighteenth year. Then they are to be removed, "whether their education has been satisfactorily completed or not," unless their names should be on the roll for New College, in which case they may remain till their nineteenth year, but no longer. This rule is not to apply to the Founder's kin, who are to be permitted to stay till they reach their twenty-fifth year. The scholars are not to be allowed to keep dogs, ferrets, hawks, &c., or to carry arms, or frequent taverns or public shows, or indulge in noisy and tumultuous sports, or empty slops, &c., on the heads of their companions from the windows of the court—a somewhat needless prohibition, one would have thought, seeing that those who suffered from such an infliction, would be likely to take the law into their own hands, and prevent its recurrence.

The three Chaplains are to be appointed by the Warden, and also dismissible by him^m. They are to be paid two shillings a-week, if the Warden can get them for that; if not, he is empowered to offer four marks a-year. They are to have twelve-pence for commons, and six yards of cloth. The three Clerks are to be appointed, and to be liable to dismissal, in the same manner as the Chaplains. Their pay is to be twenty shillings a-year; tenpence for commons; enough cloth is to be given them, as in the instance of the scholars, for a gown and hood.

The choristers are to be elected, like the scholars, by the Chamber; they must be under twelve years of age, instructed in reading, plain song, and grammar. They are to occupy the chamber adjoining the kitchen, are to be fed on the remains of the

^m If the Warden fail within reasonable time to appoint a Chaplain, he is to be fined 6s. 8d. a-week.

general dinner, and wear the cast-off clothes of the other members of the collegeⁿ.

With the exception of the servants, the above constituted the entire body of St. Mary Winton College. The school hours, the books studied, the punishments inflicted for offences, the hours of rising, taking meals, and retiring to bed, may be inferred from the ordinary habits of life in that day, but are not specially recorded. Probably they did not differ much from those described by Johnson, which the reader will find in a subsequent chapter, and still less from the regulations and customs prevailing in other schools of the period^o. But there is one remarkable point, in which Wykeham's rules differ from those of any previous or contemporary foundation.

This is the practice of administering the discipline of a school, in a great measure, through the agency of the boys themselves. A high authority declares that this is the thing which constitutes the difference between a public and private school^p; and few who have any real knowledge of the subject, will differ from him. This system is clearly of Wykeham's devising; "In each of the lower cham-

ⁿ These they are allowed to dispose of after five years' wear of them. To any one unacquainted with the strictness of the sumptuary laws respecting dress in the Middle Ages, the minute particularity of the Statutes must seem strange. Not only the quantity, but the fashion and the colour, are rigidly insisted on. The gowns are not to be "de albo, nigro, russeto, vel glauco colore;" the hoods are not to be "nodulatæ" (adorned with knots), their shoes are not to be "rostratæ" (turned up with sharp points), nor are their garters to be red or green. But fur is to be allowed, and an allowance is made to the *Socii et Informator*, "pro furrurâ."

^o See Chap. v. 83, and also further on in the present chapter.

^p The Bishop of Salisbury. Letters to Sir W. Heathcote, pp. 12, 13; also Pref. to 2nd series, School Sermons.

bers," he writes, "let there be at least three scholars, of good character, more advanced than the rest in age, discretion and knowledge; who may superintend their chamber-fellows in their studies, and oversee them diligently, and may from time to time certify and inform the Warden, Sub-warden, and Head-master respectively, of their behaviour, conversation, and progress in study^a." Here we see the creation of the eighteen college Præfects (there being six chambers, and three Præfects in each chamber). It should be noted that the Founder does not say that the three highest in the school in each chamber, are to be selected. No doubt it would be found convenient, as a general rule, that these three should be appointed as Præfects; but it was within the discretion of the authorities to set aside any senior boy, whom, for any reason, they thought unfit for the office; and this right has often been exercised, in the degradation of Præfects who have misconducted themselves. The eighteen are charged with the care of their younger school-fellows, overlooking and correcting them when necessary. This idea is of Wykeham's devising, and the experience of five hundred years has borne overwhelming testimony to its value. If there has been any one instrument in the hand of a schoolmaster whereby he may keep in check the evils inevitable in every large school, it has been this. If there has been any one regulation that has taught the elder boys manliness, self-reliance, and a sense of individual responsibility, and has abated the hardships of a junior's life, it has been this enactment of the Founder of Winchester College.

^a Stat. Rub. 34.

Nor are the details of the system he devised less admirable. The proportion of the governing body to the governed—eighteen to fifty-two—is chosen with consummate wisdom. Such a number would be needlessly large for mere magistracy; but the Præfects were to be, not the rulers only, but also the administrators of the laws. Wykeham knew that the authority of the Masters could not be called in to enforce that of the senior boys, in all the details of duty. Such interference would be irksome and degrading to all alike. They must have power of their own, sufficient to bear down any opposition that might be offered. This could only be secured by their numbers rendering them too formidable for attack; yet they must not, on the other hand, be too numerous, or they would not form one united body, and the upper part of the school would be virtually exempt from government. But so well has the balance been adjusted, that while there is hardly any record of dissensions among the Præfects, there is even less of resistance to their authority by the juniors.

In further developement of the same principle, the twelve seniors are to have authority over the juniors in all parts of the college; the other six, in chambers only. The twelve only can hold the weekly post of Bible-clerk, or the daily post of Ostiarius, or the five permanent offices of Præfect of Hall, Tub, Cloisters, Senior and Junior Præfect of Chapel. All these call for special mention.

It was, and still is, the duty of the two last-named to make the roll-call in chapel, and mark the names of absentees; to see that the juniors have their books, and behave with decency through the service. One of them enters the chapel immediately after the

Masters, and begins calling the list of names. The other stands at the chapel door, sees that the boys enter quietly, and that none, who come in too late to answer their names, go out again.

The Præfect of Cloisters had the general care of that portion of the building, saw that they were kept clean and in proper repair, repressed any noises and disorder there, and prevented any wanton damage.

The Præfect of Tub, subordinately to the Stewards, looked to the food brought in for meals, its due distribution among the various messes in hall, and the partition of the broken meat afterwards among the poor.

The Præfect of Hall was, and is, the most important functionary among the boys. Why he is so called it is not easy to say, seeing that neither his authority nor his duties are limited to the hall, or any part of the college. He is the Præfect of Præfects, and takes charge of the whole school whenever it is assembled together, as on the occasion of the boys going on "to Cathedral, and (formerly) to Hills." On these occasions, he marshalled the procession in an orderly manner, called names, when the Masters met it going out or returning, and punished any juniors who went out of bounds without leave. He was, and I believe is, the recognised medium of communication with the Masters. If any disturbance takes place in the school, the Head-master demands an account of it from the Præfect of Hall. If the school desires any favour, or has to complain of any hardship, the application is made through him. If any scandal occurs, the Præfect of Hall takes it up, and deals with it himself; unless it is too serious a matter for him to handle, in which case he lays it before the Head-master.

All this is not only recognised, but insisted upon by the authorities. The Præfects were, and still are, appointed to their offices by the Warden himself, with a regular form of words, which have been handed on from one generation to another, and possess all the weight of traditional authority. "Præficio te tuis sociis concameraribus," is the formula in the instance of the subordinate Præfects. "Esto plenâ potestate præfectus," in that of the ten seniors. "Præficio te Aulæ," "Scholæ," &c., in those of the various offices.

A question here arises of some difficulty as well as interest, as to the date when the offices of the "Præfect of Hall," &c., were first instituted. There is no mention of them in the Statutes; and the duties required of these boy-officers are, in various passages of these Statutes, assigned to other persons. Thus, the behaviour of the boys in chapel is made to be the business of the Warden^r and Sub-warden, not, apparently, through the administration of the Præfect of Chapel, but directly. The examination and dispensing of the food is given to the Steward, not to the Præfect of Tub^s. There is no mention of any Præfect of Hall, when quiet is to be maintained in the Refectory^t. There appears to have been no regular Bible-clerk; one of the senior boys being, on each occasion, chosen to read the Gospel in hall^u. From this, it has been inferred that the institution of these offices must have been subsequent, and (some think) long subsequent, to the Founder's time.

On the other hand, they are certainly as old as the

^r Rubr. 30: "delinquens juxta custodis arbitrium *celeriter* puniatur."

^s Rubr. 14.

^t Ib. 15.

^u Rubr. 14: "unum de dictis scholaribus, per magistrum deputandum, auscultent."

middle of the sixteenth century. Christopher Johnson^{*} mentions all the above-named offices, and from his mode of speaking of them, it is evident that they were no novel institution at that time. But if they existed prior to the Reformation, it is difficult to imagine any date later than that of the Founder, when they could have been introduced. There appears to have been very little change in the college system, between the time of Wykeham's death, and the sweeping revolution which the sixteenth century brought about. With the exception of the study of Greek, introduced some forty years previously to Johnson's tenure of office, everything seems to be going on, when he wrote, exactly as is ordered in the Statutes. Again, this same Christopher Johnson wrote a series of distichs on the Wardens, from the Founder's time to his own, mentioning anything remarkable that they did. He records how Warden Baker, in 1454, introduced the "*vimen quadrifidum*," wherewith Wykehamists have ever since been scourged[†]. If any Warden, then, had instituted these offices of his own authority, Johnson would surely have noticed it. It was a matter of far greater moment to the school, than a new kind of rod could be.

There is also another, and more convincing, argument in favour of a very early institution of the offices of the various Præfects. It appears almost certain that they were introduced into the new foundation at Eton by Waynflete, within forty years after the Founder's death. In the "*Consuetudinarium Vetus Scholæ Etonensis*," drawn up in 1560, it is mentioned that there were at Eton four Præfects,—

^{*} Chapter v. pp. 84, 85.

[†] See p. 69.

those of Hall, School, and Chapel (two), and that their functions resembled those of their brethren at Winchester. Now we know that the rules and ordinances at Eton were drawn up by Waynflete in 1443, the existing state of things at Winchester being designedly copied throughout. If, then, the offices of Præfect of Hall, School, and Chapel, were already established at Winchester in Waynflete's time, their institution at Eton is intelligible enough; but if we suppose them to be of later invention, it would be difficult to account for their existence at *both* schools. The intimate connection between the two colleges does not seem to have been very long maintained. And that each should, independently of the other, introduce offices so remarkable, yet so exactly alike, is a most improbable notion.

It will be seen that, although there was but very little change in the offices above mentioned in successive generations, there was some. The office of "Præfect of Cloisters" was abolished—doubtless, when the boys ceased to have access to them². The "*twelve* in full power" were reduced to ten—in all likelihood when Seventh Chamber became a sleeping-room. The old arrangement of two in full power in each chamber was thereby disturbed. There would have to be fourteen "in full power" to keep that up in future; and this was felt to be too many. Again, the "Præfect of Tub," some forty or fifty years ago, was changed to "Præfect of Library." In other respects they remain, I believe, unaltered to this day.

² Probably the Præfect of Cloisters was anciently Præfect of School also. Johnson's words give that idea: "Ut Schola, sic quendam Præfectum Claustra reposcunt."



CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE FOUNDER TO THE REFORMATION.

ELEVEN years of life were spared to Wykeham after the opening of his college, in which he might mould its system, and watch over its infancy—a longer interval than could have been anticipated; nevertheless, his decease in 1404 must have been a heavy blow to the newly-established college. He had, indeed, put the machine together, and set it in motion; but others, possessing in some degree both his ability and his spirit, must watch over its working, or the machinery would speedily be deranged. It was a good omen for its success, that such a man as Chicheley was one of the earliest scholars reared by the Founder's bounty. At the time of Wykeham's death, this proto-Wykehamist was a man already rising in celebrity; and nine years afterwards he became Primate of all England. Many of my readers will have heard the interesting tale, which Dean Hook has embodied in his *Life of Chicheley*,—how the future Founder of Winchester College, at that time Archdeacon of Northampton, was one day taking a walk through the village of Higham

Ferrers, when he encountered a peasant-boy, whose appearance and address so interested him, that he placed him in the school at Winchester, which he had taken under his care, as the nursery of his future foundation in that city. Chicheley was afterwards made Fellow of New College, thus receiving the education which enabled him to rise to the highest place which an English subject can attain. Remembering, doubtless, the example of his early benefactor, Chicheley, in his later years, founded the noble college of All Souls, at Oxford; which may thus be said to have been, in some sort, the first-fruits of Wykeham's bounty.

Another disciple, treading still more closely in his master's steps, was, not impossibly, already a member of St. Mary Winton College, at the time of Wykeham's death. William Patten or Barbour—he seems to have been called either indifferently^a—was born at Waynflete in Lincolnshire, it is not known exactly in what year, but almost certainly towards the end of the fourteenth century: he was educated first at his native place, and afterwards at Winchester College^b, removing thence, in all likelihood, to New

^a Juliana Churchstile, his kinswoman, describes herself in a deed, as “hæres Roberti Patten, fratris et hæredis Ricardi Patten (alias dicti Barbour).” Surnames were still unsettled in Waynflete's time. A man would sometimes take the name of his mother's ancestry, if of more note than that of his father.

^b “It has been doubted by some whether Waynflete ever was a boy at Winchester College; and it is certain that his name is not to be found in the Register of Scholars. But the concurrent testimony of all his best biographers is to the effect that he was educated there; and he may well have been one of the ‘filii nobilium et valentium personarum,’ whom the Founder allowed to be received, seeing that he was certainly a man of good family (‘antiquæ prosapiæ nobilis,’ Godwin styles him). Similarly, it has been denied that he could have studied at New College, as he was not a Fellow there; and there was no room for any others in the college at that date.

College for the completion of his studies; and then returning to assist in the work of education at his former school, of which he was made Head-master in 1429. Not long afterwards he was removed (as the reader will presently hear more at length) to Eton, and made first Head-master, and then Provost there. In process of time he was advanced to the see of Winchester, which he held for nearly forty years. He was a liberal benefactor to Winchester and many other places; but his great work was the foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, the most splendid institution in Europe. As he followed Wykeham's example in life, so also he did in death, leaving instructions for his remains to be laid in the beautiful chantry behind the altar-screen in Winchester Cathedral, where they still repose. Of these two munificent prelates, and of Fox, who followed shortly afterwards, Lord Selborne writes:—

“Founders of other colleges on Cherwell's lilyed side,
Who laid at last their bones with his, when in ripe old
age they died.”

There was also another “distinguished Wykehamist of this generation, one of the most distinguished characters, indeed, in all history, though in a different line from Chicheley and Waynflete,—no less a personage than King Henry V. ;” who pursued his studies at the college of St. Mary Winton, Oxford, under the supervision of his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort—choosing Wykeham's new foundation in preference to Queen's College, though the latter had been

But Bishop Longlands, who was Bursar of Magdalen in 1515 (only twenty-five years after Waynflete's death), declares positively that he was at New College, and he could hardly be mistaken. Waynflete may have lodged out of college, but still have studied in it.”—Chandl. Waynf., p. 7.

founded by his own great-grandmother. Henry paid but one visit, so far as is known, to Winchester, very shortly before his embarkation for France; after which date he remained for the greater part of his reign in France. We are not told that he bestowed any special tokens of his favour on the college, either during his stay in the city, or subsequently. Sooth to say, wars and tumults left him small space for such matters as the patronage of learning, or the advancement of deserving scholars.

It was different with his son, Henry of Windsor, who took up his abode in the old cathedral city six or seven times; often remaining for a considerable period. On these occasions, Wykeham's College was the special object of his interest and admiration. The first of these visits was in the year 1440, when he was quite a lad; but even then he had it in mind to found a college near his royal residence at Windsor, resembling in all particulars that which Wykeham had designed. He made a careful study of the Statutes, which the latter had drawn up for the government of his college; and was continually present at the chapel services, making on every occasion liberal offerings. At one time, he not only gave one hundred nobles for the adornment of the high altar, but distributed no less than six pounds thirteen and fourpence among the boys; a large sum for such a purpose, in those days. On another, he bestowed on the college a robe lined with sables; at others, a chalice, a pair of cruets, a tabernacle for the altar—all of gold.

William of Waynflete, as the reader has already been informed, was at this time Head-master of the college; and Henry found him a willing and able assistant in his designs. In the year 1443, these

were carried into execution. Exactly half the establishment — the Head-master, five Fellows, and thirty-five Scholars, migrated to Eton, to initiate Henry's new foundation, Waynflete's predecessor in office, Thomas Alwin^c, returning to take temporary charge of the older school. Wykehamists have the satisfaction of knowing that, whatever precedence Eton may now claim, in right of her larger numbers, the higher rank of many of her alumni, or the royal favour she enjoys—she was, at the first, formed altogether after the model of Winchester, and stands towards the latter in the relation of a daughter to her parent. The Eton Statutes are manifestly borrowed from those of Wykeham; a grammar was drawn up for the joint use of the two colleges; Wykeham's picture was placed, and still hangs, in the Eton library; and the bond of union between the two colleges was cemented by a frequent interchange of courtesies and hospitalities. Nay, it is evident that for several generations after the establishment of Henry's College, Winchester was considered the more important of the two. Three of the Eton Head-masters,—Clement Smith, 1464^d, William Harman, 1495, and Thomas Erlis-

^c Probably Alwin returned at the request of the authorities, who felt the necessity of having an experienced hand at the helm, when so many of the officers and crew were new. Christopher Johnson therefore is somewhat hard on him, when he twits him with folly in returning to his work, and writes,—

“Ergo resorberis tam dirâ, Alwine, Charybdi,
Nec poteris fracto liber abire jugo.”

^d Christopher Johnson is as hard on Clement Smith, as he is on Alwin; he writes :—

“Si Clemens fueras debebas longior esse,
Turpe per æstates non docuisse duas.”

He twits him with having been only two years Informator at Winchester, ignoring his former work at Eton.

man, 1517, resigning their situations as Head-masters of Eton, to be advanced to the corresponding office at Winchester. Three at least of the early Provosts of Eton were Wykehamists, Waynflete, 1443, John Clerc, 1347, and William Westbury, 1463.

In the year following Waynflete's elevation to the Provostship, the famous deed of "*Amicabilis Concordia*" was drawn up, the object being to cement still more closely the bond of union between the colleges. Sooth to say, such a step was not only gracious and courteous, but extremely wise also. Dangers beset such institutions in those days, which sometimes grievously injured, and sometimes utterly destroyed them. Only one generation after its foundation, Eton was on the very point of being altogether merged in another foundation; while some fifty years later Winchester itself was for two years in even greater peril of dissolution. Ruin was averted from Eton by the firmness of a Wykehamical Provost; and in Henry VIII.'s time, it may well be that the joint efforts of the friends of the sister colleges saved both, when the pinch came. The contracting parties to the "*Amicabilis Concordia*," Nicolas Ossulbury, Warden of New College; Robert Thorburn, Warden of Winchester; William Millington, Provost of St. Mary and St. Nicolas, Cambridge; and William Waynflete, Provost of Eton, declare that, "although the foundations over which they preside are situated in different localities, yet they have one and the same object in view, and pursue it by one and the same means. It is therefore for the honour and advantage of both, that they should support and defend each other in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or civil, wherein either may be involved."

We have spoken of the danger which early beset Eton. This arose from the jealous feeling with which Edward IV. regarded the favourite foundation of his rival. He was ungenerous enough to meditate its destruction, and had obtained a bull in 1463, from Pius II., for the incorporation of its revenues with those of St. George's College, Windsor. Westbury with great difficulty obtained the revocation of the bull. It might have been expected that Edward, who had little magnanimity in his composition, would not be inclined to treat Winchester with any greater favour than Eton, seeing it had been greatly attached to Henry VI., and in all likelihood rendered the latter all the aid in its power, during his brief restoration in 1470. But, whatever might be the reason, Edward shewed Winchester no ill-will. He visited Waynflete during his brief stay in the city, treating him with respect and courtesy; and though there is no record of his having honoured the college with his presence, we find that in January, 1471, he sent "*unum ex famulis*" to the college with a lion, for the boys to look at—probably one which had been landed at Southampton, and was on its way to the menagerie in the Tower. The college rewarded the man with a *douceur* of one and eightpence. In the ensuing year, the Duke of Clarence, in like manner, sent two bears to be viewed. Probably, as Mr. Collins' remarks, these were visitors whom the boys were as pleased to see, as they would have been their royal owners.

After the battle of Bosworth, when Henry VII. was firmly established on the throne by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, he brought the latter to be confined at Winchester. After the birth of Prince Arthur, Henry visited the college in state, and was

entertained at the Warden's lodgings, though not, it would seem, at any great expense; the whole cost of the provision made amounting to no more than eighteen and eightpence.

With this reception of King Henry VII. ends the record of the first century of Wykeham's foundation; during which time it may be said to have been most fortunate, in escaping the dangers which so often beset similar establishments in those days; in acquiring at once wealth and celebrity; and in rearing many devoted and illustrious scholars. Among these are the prelates already noted—Chicheley and Waynflete, also Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Andrew, first Warden of All Souls; William Grocyn, the scholar; and Dean Fleshmonger. Among the Wardens and Head-masters of the century, none seem to require any special mention, unless it is Warden Baker (1454—1487), whose name has indeed descended to posterity, but only with the very doubtful reputation of having been the inventor of the peculiar Wykehamical rod, wherewith college boys and commoners alike have been duly chastised, from his time even down to the present day. Christopher Johnson writes of him:—

“Si laus est, inventa quidem, custode Bakero,
Ex quadripartito vimine flagra ferunt.”

Not much is recorded of the sayings and doings of the boys during this century; but it is evident that care was taken, not only for their education, board and lodging, but also for their amusement. There are repeated entries in the college accounts for payments made for this purpose. Sums, for instance, are charged for putting up and taking down a staging, on which comedies and tragedies were to

be acted ; for making "little houses" (possibly part of the scenery), and candles to light the theatre ; for removing the organs out of the chapel into the hall, to be used in the plays acted ; or again, for performers of various kinds, who came to exhibit before the boys. These were mostly sent by some great personage, the king, or one of the royal dukes, or the Bishop of Winchester, or some powerful nobleman—and consisted of mimes, jugglers, buffoons, minstrels, dancers, and the like. The college were wont to make payment to these, not as the hire of their performances, but as a *douceur*—"ex curialitate," as it is expressed. Doubtless also the numberless Saints' days, and occasions of merry-making prevalent in England before the Reformation, were duly observed within the walls of St. Mary Winton, and made the lives of the boys joyous enough, whatever may have been the effect on their studies.

But with the outset of the next century, these bright skies were clouded over, and there came very stormy weather. Henry VIII. visited the college on two occasions, early in his reign—the second time, in company with Charles V. of Germany and Spain. The two monarchs made a week's stay in Winchester, during which they inspected the college, along with other objects of interest in the neighbourhood. In the ensuing year Henry's visit was repeated ; and the king's followers are related to have consumed six hogsheads of ale, besides fish, capons, pheasants, &c., to the amount of five pounds two shillings ; not to speak of garnish for the dishes, twenty-three shillings and fourpence.

But this handsome treatment in no way conciliated the rapacious Henry ; who, it cannot be doubted, had looked with a covetous eye on the thriving manors

and rich advowsons they had acquired. A return was ordered, four years after his visit, of all the revenues of which they stood possessed, and was duly taken by the Royal Commissioners, A.D. 1535. The items of it have been already given in the previous chapter. The process very nearly resembled that of taking the inventory of a man's goods, who is about to be declared a felon; and the hearts of the Warden and Fellows must have been sorely troubled when it was sent in. They soon had experience of the king's gracious intentions, in an order obliging them to exchange some of their most valuable advowsons and manors for others, in a manner so disadvantageous to them, that exchange in this instance seems to have been nothing but robbery—the proverb to the contrary notwithstanding. Henry followed this up by the Statute of 1545, for the dissolution of the college. This hung, like the sword of Damocles, over the heads of the Warden and Fellows for two years; when the death of Henry occurred in time to save them. By an Order in Council dated the first of Edward VI., the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, together with those of Winchester and Eton, were specially exempted from the operation of the act; but they had a narrow escape. Of all the religious bodies in Winchester and its vicinity, they and St. Cross only came out comparatively uninjured. The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, the Abbey of Hyde, the Priory of St. Swithin, the houses of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Augustines, the hospital of St. John, and the college of St. Elizabeth, were either entirely dissolved, or forfeited their property. The same was the case with the Almonry of the Sustern Spytal, which, though it had no property

except its buildings to lose, was nevertheless abolished.

Rumours of the disposition of the court towards the college had doubtless reached the ears of its occupants, and encouraged such as belonged to the anti-Roman party to take steps, on which they would not otherwise have ventured. Among these was one William Ford, holding at that time the office of Hostiarius, and bitterly opposed to his Informator, John White, as staunch a Catholic as William himself was Protestant. The latter was greatly exercised in mind respecting certain "golden images," (gilded figures, probably of the Virgin, St. John, &c.,) which stood either in the niches of the reredos, or on the roodscreen. One day, somewhere about the year 1536, he tied a long cord to the objects of his dislike*, linking them all together. Then after midnight, being alone in his chamber, he plucked one end of the cord, and all the

* I tell this story as I find it related by Strype, (*Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. pt. iii. 174,) but must confess myself wholly unable to understand it. The door of "the church" (i.e. the college chapel) is said to have been "over against" the usher's chamber. But the usher's chamber was on the opposite side of the quadrangle, forty yards distant. Nor could he have manipulated the cord as described, unless by passing it through the window of the room, now the Second Master's dining-room. But that room was tenanted, not by the Hostiarius only, but by one of the Fellows, and by the Informator also—John White himself, in fact. As the crash immediately roused the college, if this had been the mode in which the manœuvre was executed, Master Ford would have been caught at the window, hauling up the rope which he had cut off with the twitch at the chapel-door; or supposing him not to have hauled it up, it would have remained, an unanswerable witness against him. It has been ingeniously suggested that Ford might have slept in the sacristy, and pulled the images down through the door under the present organ. But who ever heard of the sacristy being used as a bed-room? The story seems to me a hearsay version, greatly distorted, of some real occurrence.

images came to the ground together, with a crash that roused the whole community from their slumbers. They hurried into the chapel, and were shocked at the ruin that had been wrought; but they could not discover the author. The cord cut with a twitch lay at the chapel-door. The Hostiarius was speedily suspected, and his chamber searched; but he was found in his bed.

But though the outrage could not be brought home to him, we are told that he led "a dog's life among them afterwards." Mr. White, the Fellows and Scholars (who seem to have sympathised with the Head-master in this matter) were in the habit of continually "crying out and railing at him; and there were certain warm partisans of Rome, who were not disposed to limit their displeasure to words. They dogged his steps for a long time, intending to do him a mischief. One night, when he was returning home from the town, having been obliged to go round by the city walls, they intercepted him in a dark corner near the King's-gate, and beat him with their staves. He had on a thick collar, well lined with the fox-fur, for which good Bishop Wykeham had given licence; and the night was so dark, that many of the blows missed him altogether. His assailants left him for dead; but when they were gone, he managed to attract attention, and was carried to his lodging. Doubtless he was lawlessly and barbarously dealt with; but there seems no doubt that he was a bitter and narrow-minded partisan, likely to provoke the hostility he encountered. We are told that afterwards his fanaticism so perverted his mind, that he was "tempted of Satan to kill himself on small occasion."

The reader has heard that the college escaped the

danger that had been menacing it during the last two years of Henry VIII.'s life; but it did not emerge from its troubles without receiving some very strait injunctions for its future guidance, amounting to something like a censure on its proceedings up to that date. In the first year of King Edward VI.'s reign, an inquisition was held by three royal commissioners, Hales, Cave, and Bridges, who among other things ordered ^f:—

(1.) That henceforth the Bible shall be read in English during the meal-times in hall.

(2.) That all the Scholars, able to do so, shall, before the next Christmas, buy the New Testament, in English or Latin, for private study; and that the Warden, or his deputies, shall examine them therein.

(3.) That all graces and prayers shall henceforth be said or sung in English; and that they shall no more sing the hymns, "*Stella Cœli*," or "*Salve, Regina*," or any such untrue and superstitious anthems.

(4.) That whereas four Bibles had been ordered to be placed in the chapel, any scholar may borrow one, so he restore it to its place again.

(5.) That the Scholars shall provide themselves with Erasmus's Catechism, shall use no Primer but that set forth by the king's authority; that the Warden shall repel by the use of Holy Scripture any false heathen teaching which occurs in the boys' lessons; that he and the other teachers shall carefully avoid ribald and foul language (!); and lastly—what was doubtless a redeeming feature in the eyes of the boys, if not in that of their masters—that only the Warden, or in his absence, his deputy, shall

^f Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 8.

have correction of the boys; and that there shall be no excessive correction.

These injunctions hit both Warden and Head-master pretty hard; White, the Informator, being very generally known as a very decided upholder of the Pope, and Warden More having a terrible reputation as a disciplinarian^g, while Head-master It was, perhaps, in gratitude for the last item of the visitorial injunction, that the boys, five years after, when Edward VI. came in person to Winchester, presented him with no less than forty-two copies of Latin, and *one* copy of Greek verses; marking thus the date of the introduction of the study of Greek into the school, and the comparatively slight knowledge of it at that time.

It is strange that no record should have been preserved, either in the archives of the town or of the college, respecting this visit. Edward (who was then drawing near the end of his life) reached Winchester, Sept. 5, 1552; he travelled that day from Mottisfont, near Romsey, and was in all likelihood lodged at Wolvesey. At the time of his arrival White had been translated to the Wardenship, and Hyde had succeeded to White's vacant place. Hyde is represented by one writer as having been, like his predecessor, "a person of great severity;" and by another, as "very stiff and perverse^h." Possibly the Scholars hoped that King Edward might be in-

^g Christopher Johnson's distich on him runs thus:—

"Qui legit hic Morum, qui non et sensit eundem,
Gaudeat, et secum molliter esse putet."

^h In his opinion, that is. He became in 1560 a Popish recusant, and wisely took himself out of harm's way. Johnson is as severe on him, as on his predecessor:—

"In quoque præceptor quondam meus, Hyde, latentis
E re nomen habes. Numinis istud opus."

duced to administer another hint on both subjects to Master Hyde also. The Greek verses, it should be noted, were the composition of Stapleton, afterwards a noted controversialist on the side of Rome. The name of Christopher Johnson also occurs among the forty-two versifiers.

In the year ensuing, there was another royal visit to Winchester, but of a different description. Philip of Spain came thither to be married to Mary; and Warden White, and Informator Hyde, whose appearance had been sadly crestfallen during Edward's stay, now spread their plumage in the full sunshine of court favour. After the nuptial ceremony had taken place in the cathedral, the queen, attended by a gallant train, visited the college, and was present at the service in the college chapel. The boys and, it need not be added, the masters too, presented her with many loyal addresses, couched in the favourite form of Latin elegiacs. These were fixed up, we are told, on the doors of the cathedral, the posts of the Chancellor's house, and other places; "to view which elegant verses," writes one of the enthusiasts on the occasion, "should quicken the spirit of all dull dolts to embrace good letters." The book containing these effusions was presented to the British Museum, where it still is. John White himself headed the collection, with some elegiacs of his own, which shew unquestionable zeal for Queen Mary and her religion, but no great depth of devotion to the Muses. He received, however, the sum of forty shillings in hard cash for them—a handsome honorarium in those times—as well as a bishopric two years afterwards. Thirty shillings was distributed among the Præfects and Senior Scholars. These stimulants were likely to have at least as

much effect, as the "elegant verses" themselves. A handsome entertainment was given by the college in acknowledgment of these favours, at which sixteen tuns of double ale are recorded to have been drunk.

Queen Elizabeth did not visit Winchester for many years after her accession. Strype relatesⁱ that she conferred two privileges on the college. One was in 1560, when she granted to it, as well as to Eton College, an exemption from the ordinance which required that all services, whether in cathedrals, parish churches, or private chapels, should be performed in the vulgar tongue: the reason alleged for the exception being, that it would tend to the improvement of the scholars in their study of the Latin language. The other is conveyed in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cecil, March 14, 1564^k, and states, that it is her Majesty's pleasure that the Archbishop of Canterbury (Parker) should grant a dispensation to the Scholars of Winchester, touching the observance of Wednesday as a fish-day.

The loyalty of the school had not suffered through the change of rulers. When the virgin queen came at last to Winchester, in 1570, she was greeted by forty loyal effusions,—the greater part still in the favourite Latin elegiac verse, but some four or five, this time, in Greek, shewing the progress made in the study of that language in the school. It is, however, to be feared, that small advance had been made in any intelligent knowledge of it, if we are to judge by the verses produced.

Few of these addresses, indeed, possess any merit, unless it be (as Mr. Collins drily remarks) that of brevity. But there was one boy, at least, in the

ⁱ Strype, vol. i. pt. i. chap. xviii.

^k Matth. Park., MSS., C.C.C., Cambridge, cxiv. 199.

school who did not lack mother wit, and whose name deserves to be transmitted to posterity, more than those of William Toker or Henry Floyd, prize epigrammatists, or than those even of Masters Coryatt and Rainold, Fellows of New College, who met her Majesty at the college with unctuous orations, and received, in requital of the same, a purse of gold. The queen, having contemplated the formidable four-twigged rod, which was depicted on the wall of the school-room, asked the lad in question "whether he had ever had personal experience of it?" He replied in the words of Æneas to Dido, when she questioned him respecting the overthrow and sack of Troy,—

"Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem!"

The queen's rejoinder has not been recorded. If it did not consist of some approving speech, together with a handful of gold coin, she failed to display her usual discrimination.

In 1579, during Bilson's Head-mastership, there seems to have been something resembling an *emeute* among the scholars,—the first on record. We are not told what the "belli teterrima causa" was; but some of the scholars ran away, and others took the more decided step of sending up complaints of the authorities to her Majesty the Queen. The latter paid so much attention to the representations of the scholars, as to send for Mr. Chandler and Mr. Booles (two of the Fellows, we may presume,) to London to inquire into the matter. There are two entries in the college accounts with reference to this affair. The first is a charge of ten shillings and tenpence "for the expenses of Mr. Booles and Mr. Budde riding after the truant scholars to bring them back;" and the other for thirty-five shillings and one penny,

the cost of "Mr. Chandler's and Mr. Booles's ride up to court, with two servants, respecting the complaints made by the scholars." How they sped on their mission there we are not informed.

Elizabeth did not again come to Winchester, but she did the college the honour to interfere more than once in its affairs, bearing out the remark of Herodotus, that "kings are long-handed." In 1581, she desired them to present one Master Wilks to their living of Downton, in Wilts; with which request they complied, though not without remonstrance. But some fifteen years afterwards, when she notified her wish that they would make Henry Cotton Warden, in the room of Thomas Bilson¹, advanced to the bishopric of Worcester, they prayed to be excused, on the ground of conscientious objection to the person named, and elected Thomas Harman, the Informator, to the office instead.

This is the last occurrence of any note in the history of this century, with which the Reformation period may be considered to end. The "distinguished Wykehamists" who lived in it are hardly men of as high mark as those of preceding, and subsequent, times. Among the bishops may be named White, Bilson, Lake, and Earles, the last calling for mention as the only one of them who was a commoner throughout the whole of his school career. Of those not bishops, the most eminent are John Harpsfield, chaplain to Bishop Bonner, and one of the seven disputants on the Romish side at the celebrated conference in 1549. During Mary's reign he was rapidly promoted, being made Canon of St. Paul's, Dean of Norwich, and Archdeacon of London. In 1555 he was also chosen Warden of

¹ A.D. 1596.

Winchester, but he declined the office. With the accession of Elizabeth his prosperous career came to an end. He was imprisoned, and afterwards died in obscurity. His notion that the numbers of the various members of the college had a significant meaning, has already been noticed ^m.

Another well-known personage in these times was John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, whose bold assertion of the reformed doctrines brought him to the stake in 1555. He and Harpsfield had been fast friends in their school-days. Strype relates how once on a time Philpot offered to wager that he would, in one night, compose two hundred Latin verses, containing not more than three faults; and on his composition being submitted to the masters for arbitration, he was declared to have won his bet. Perhaps Harpsfield interceded for Philpot with Bonner, and failed. One would like, at all events, to think that he did. In this century, also, were numbered among the Winchester scholars, Stapleton and Father Garnet, the Jesuits; Pitts, the historian; and Sir Henry Wotton.

^m Chap. iii. p. 46. By others this notion is assigned to Nicolas Harpsfield, also a Wykehamist.



The Chantry of Wykeham.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BEFORE we pass on to the history of the College subsequently to the Reformation, it will be proper to say something as to the habits and manners of the boys during its earlier ages. If mention has been made of them hitherto, it has only been to relate how, on the occasion of the visit of some great personage, they presented their complimentary verses, and received in return an approving speech, or a more solid requital in the way of hard money ; or, again, how they acted stage-plays among themselves, or looked on while Christmas mummers and morrice-dancers performed before them. The records of the college say little or nothing of their daily habits and employments. But it happens that, during the reign of Edward VI.^a, a minute description of these was drawn up, in the form of a Latin hexameter poem, which has been preserved uninjured to the present day. It is full of interest, as shewing the general likeness, as well as the occasional dissimilarities to the every-day life of a Winchester scholar some ten or twenty years ago. It has been before remarked, that there was probably very little difference between the occupations and amusements of boys in Richard II.'s, and in Edward VI.'s reign.

^a The date of Johnson's poem cannot be later than Edward VI.'s time. When that king came to Winchester, Christopher Johnson was among the boys who presented their verses to him ; therefore Johnson was one of the senior scholars then, and it is evident from the poem itself that he was a *junior* when he wrote it.

During the 150 years which elapsed between those dates, England no doubt underwent a very considerable change. War was beginning to assume something of its modern aspect, trade was expanding its wings for a wider flight; the arts were domesticating themselves in English soil; the vast influence of the new discovery of printing was already felt; above all, men's religious views were undergoing a radical revolution. But all this was working, as it were, under the surface, and the external differences it was destined ultimately to effect in the face of society, had not yet come to light. It is probable that with the exception of the study of the Greek language, which was imported into England less than half-a-century before Edward's reign, the life of a college boy in his time was very nearly what it had been in the days of the Founder himself. This fact renders the description above referred to of still greater value and interest.

The author of the poem, Christopher Johnson, was a writer of repute in his day, as well as extremely quaint and amusing. Antony Wood calls him "an excellent Latin Poet, Philosopher, and Physician." He was made Head-master in 1560, and resigned the office after eleven years' service, betaking himself to London, where he "practised physic," writes Wood, with good success for twenty-six years^b. Of his fame as a physician, Antony's assurance is the only record; of his ability as a poet and philosopher, we may judge for ourselves. As has been already mentioned, he left behind him, among other works, a series of distichs on the various Wardens and

^b "He had already practised it in Winchester," says Wood, "but not to the neglect of his school." He died in 1597, and was buried at St. Dunstan's.

Head-masters, from the foundation of the school to his own time. Some of these have been already quoted, and others deserve to be so from the quaintness of their humour,—as, for example, that on William Evered^c, who had been Informator in Johnson's own school-days :—

“Qui fueras, Everede, meo sensi ipse periclo.
Ignosco. an faciet sic mea turba mihi?”

Nor should the epigram on himself be omitted :—

“Ultimus hic ego sum ; sed quam bene, quam male, nolo
Dicere : qui de me judicet, alter erit.”

to which another (his successor, Bilson, it is believed) has added,—

“Ultimus es ratione loco, re primus, Ionson,
Quod tu cunctaris dicere, fama refert.”

Besides the series of distichs, he wrote the “Life of the Founder,” in Latin verse, and another poem “de Collegiâtâ Scholâ Wiccamicâ,” which is the “Memoir” to which reference is made above. It appears from some prefatory lines affixed to it, that it was written while he was quite a boy : which fact accounts for certain grammatical blunders, which might otherwise induce us to doubt whether his reputation as “Archididasculus,” was very well deserved. The poem gives us a most complete description of the Winchester of the day.

We learn from it that the first peal rang (summer and winter, it would seem, as no distinction is made) at five o'clock. Thereupon, the “Præfect of the Chamber” gives the order to rise, and the boys sing a selection from the Psalms in Latin before dressing. Then the chambers are put in order, the boys comb

^c From 1546 to 1552.

their hair, make their beds^d, wash their faces and hands at the conduit outside, and say their private prayers^e. Then the second bell rings for morning chapel at half-past five. It was the business of the two Præfects of Chapel, we are told, to overlook the inferiors, to see that all were present, that all had their books, and that none talked or misbehaved. At six, they went into school. Of this building Johnson gives a graphic picture. He says it was supported on four oaken posts, and had three windows: that there were seats for the eighteen Præfects^f, raised higher than the others, that they might overlook the juniors: these were on the south side. Opposite, on the north wall, was a "Map of the World" depicted: on the east, the axioms of Quintilian: and on the west, the famous Wykehamical motto, which will be described when the great school-room comes under notice. Beneath this stood the pulpit^g, whence declamations were delivered. There was no

^d These, only a short time before Johnson wrote, if not actually *in* his time, were simply bundles of straw laid on the stone floor. It was Dean Fleshmonger, *circa* 1540, who laid down oaken floors in the chambers, and gave the bedsteads. The slang expression "clean straw," denoting "clean sheets," is, therefore, not a metaphor derived from the pig-stye, as many suppose, but a veritable tradition of the past. But though the boys thenceforth slept on mattresses, they were obliged to make their own beds until the beginning of the eighteenth century; when Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester, wrote a letter, as Visitor, to the Warden, requesting that the "children" should be relieved from the "foul office of making their own beds, and keeping the chambers clean;" also that they should not be required to rise before six in winter.

^e Bishop Ken, nearly a century and a-half later, writes, "Be sure to sing the morning and evening Psalms in your chamber devoutly; to avoid the interruptions of the common chamber, go into the chapel, between first and second peal, to say your private prayers."

^f The tiers of stone forming these seats are still to be seen in the recesses of the windows.

^g See Glossary on "Pulpiteers."

fireplace, we are told, in the room ; but the heat from the sun and the breath of the boys was enough to keep it warm.

“Nec schola nostra focum complectitur, attamen omnes
Phœbeis radiis halituque calescimus oris.”

Considering the numbers which appear to have been taught together in the room, no doubt it became close enough before the three hours' school were ended. The quantity of the air must have been as faulty as that of the line. Every boy who was not saying his lesson, sat at his scob, confined as strictly to it,—

“ut olim,
Caucasiæ rupi divus fuit iste Prometheus.”

At nine o'clock the bell rang for breakfast ; which consisted of bread and beer, and was taken in hall, and distributed to the boys by the butler and the “bread-butler.” When breakfast was over, the “Præfect of Hall^h” gave the order to “go downstairs.” Then followed an interval before “middle-school,” which was at eleven ; and at twelve the bell again summoned them to dinner. Grace was said by a Præfect, attended by nine others, who probably made the responses ; and the Bible-clerk read a chapter from the Old Testament (in English, according to Edward VI.'s Injunctions). Then the “Præfect of Tub” served first the Præfect of Hall's, then the other messes, with *dispars*ⁱ of beef ; he himself walked up and down hall, while the dinner was proceeding. The junior of each mess of four cut up the meat assigned, into equal portions, and

^h For a Catalogue of the various offices held by the college Præfects, and an account of their duties, see chap. iii. p. 57, ff.

ⁱ See Glossary on word.

filled the jacks. Dinner concluded, an antiphonal grace was sung, and then the college-servants and choristers made their dinner.

At two o'clock school was resumed, and continued till five, with a short interval at half-past three, called "bevers^k," when beer and bread were served out. This lasted for a quarter of an hour. At five, the bell again rang, and the whole Society, Warden, Fellows, Masters, Chaplains, Clerks, Scholars, and Choristers, went "circum:" they returned to a supper of mutton in hall, and then adjourned to chambers till eight, when Evensong was performed in the chapel. This over, they went to bed.

Such was the routine of the ordinary school-day. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, if it happened to be fine, the boys went to "Hills," instead of into school. The "Præfect of Hall" made the formal request for the "remedy ring^l" of the Head-master, which, if he was pleased to hand it over to him, permitted the boys to go on to "Hills," or to "Meads," or to the "Hall-fire," according to the time of year. The Præfect of Hall then summoned all the boys to "Gates," and called names in the presence of the Warden, the Præfects standing on the right hand, and the inferiors on the left; and every boy answering "Adsum^m" to his name. Then the boys proceeded, walking two and two, both outwards and homewards, to the summit of St. Catherine's,—beyond the trench surrounding which, they were not allowed to wander,—until the hour of nine arrived, when the Præfect of Hall shouted to them that it was time to return "Domum." The boys were allowed to amuse themselves during the stay on Hills with quoits,

^k See Glossary on word.

^l Ibid.

^m Abbreviated, in modern times at all events, into "sum."

or hand-ball, or foot-ball, and some game which is either stool-ball or rounders. In the afternoon they again repaired to "Hills," in the same order; returning home when three o'clock arrived. Wykehamists, who were in college some forty or fifty years ago, will probably be inclined to say, that if there had been little change in the round of school-boy life between the times of Wykeham and Edward VI., there was still less between that of Edward and their own.

At the outset of James I.'s reign, there came a very singular order from his Majesty to the Warden and Fellows, to quit their apartments, in order that they might be occupied by the Judges and their attendants, who were coming to Winchester for the purpose of trying the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh for treason. In this reign also was made the bequest, by which the three orations delivered "*Ad Portas*," "*In honorem Fundatoris*," and "*Elizabethæ et Jacobi*," on the Tuesday in election-week, were paid for. One Dame Lettice Williams made over to the two St. Mary Winton colleges, an annual rent-charge of £12, conditionally on certain sermons being preached by Fellows of New College, on the fifth of November in every year, and certain orations delivered at New and Winchester Colleges, among which are the three above mentioned. The speech, "*Ad Portas*," was delivered by the Præfect of Hall, as the reader has heard, at Middle-gate, on the arrival of the Warden of New College, and the Posers; those in honour of the Founder, and of Elizabeth and James, by the senior Founder's kin, and the Præfect of School, on the same day, in the great school-room.

In the year 1608, Archbishop Bancroft held a visi-

tation; at which orders were made, which shewed that, in his judgment at all events, abuses existed in the college, which required correction. Thus for instance, he requires:—

(1.) “That no three persons of consanguinity to the Warden, or any of the Fellows, shall be Fellows at the same time in the collegeⁿ.”

(2.) “That, at all elections for Fellows and Scholars, they shall not be allowed to nominate singly, but all shall be elected by the united vote of the whole body^o.” (These two orders shew that nepotism had already crept into the college, and was sufficiently notorious to attract attention.)

(3.) That the masters shall on no account be permitted to take money from the scholars for teaching them.

(4.) That it being unreasonable that the commoners should be any burden to the society, they shall henceforth pay 4s. a-week for “commons.”

In 1635, Archbishop Laud held a similar visitation; and his Injunctions prove that innovations of a different kind had been introduced, leavening the college with the Puritanical spirit of the day. He orders—

(1.) That no one shall neglect morning and evening prayer in the chapel.

(2.) That the whole service is to be read, and the Nicene Creed is not to be omitted.

(3.) That the chapel is to be kept in good repair; and the Communion-table placed against the east wall, having the ends north and south.

(4.) The Warden and Fellows, for the future, are

ⁿ Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iv. pp. 435, 436.

^o *Ibid.*, pp. 517, 518.

required to dine in hall, and not take their commons to their own private lodging.

(5.) The Warden (Harris) is to make satisfaction to the college for the unnecessary charge to which he has put them, by building himself lodgings, a staircase, and a balcony-window; and the £20 he annually takes for wine, is to be bestowed as the Statutes order.

Laud's attempts to restrain the growth of Puritanism had but little effect outside Winchester College, whatever he may have effected within it. In the autumn of 1645, some months after the disastrous battle of Naseby, Cromwell appeared before Winchester, and having reduced the Castle, took uninterrupted possession of the town. Most of the chief public buildings, and especially those set apart for religious purposes, were either grievously mutilated, or wholly destroyed. The Castle was mined, and blown up. Wolvesey Palace was reduced to a ruin. The carved work and painted glass in the Cathedral were dashed to fragments; the brazen statues of the kings thrown down; the monuments of the dead broken open, and their contents scattered over the pavement. In the midst of this general destruction, Wykeham's college and tomb remained as entirely free from injury, as the dwellers in Goshen were of old, in the evil day of Egypt. While all was desecration and havoc elsewhere, not a fragment of painted glass in Wykeham's chapel was broken, not one of the sculptured figures beneath the canopied niches was displaced, not a moulding of the rich tracery which adorns his chantry was so much as chipped. A Wykehamist, who had unhappily forgotten his vows of loyalty to his Sovereign and his Church, *could* not forget also the oath which he

had sworn, to preserve from injury, of whatsoever kind, the college in which his boyhood had been reared. He was, fortunately, an officer of much weight and influence in the rebel army; and by exerting these to the utmost, he was enabled to save, as it were, his foster-mother in the hour of her utmost need. Of all the testimonies that have been rendered, in the course of five centuries, to the power of Wykeham's institutions over men's hearts, I know none like this. The college, we are told, disbursed the sum of £29 5s. 6d. to the soldiers set to guard the buildings; and never was £29 5s. 6d. better laid out.

But though the college had thus happily escaped the blind and savage violence of a fanatic soldiery, the peril was very far from being averted. How the Warden and Fellows contrived to escape the pillage, not to say the confiscation of their property, and the new-modelling of their institutions, is a problem not easy to solve. A good deal is generally attributed to the influence of Warden Harris, whom Laud had visited with his censures, in the days when his own power was at its height. It is not improbable that this very censure proved beneficial to the college, in a manner which Laud himself little foresaw, causing Warden Harris to be regarded as a victim of prelatical tyranny, and as such, a person to be upheld and protected on all occasions that might arise.

Anyway, he did contrive to carry the college through those dangerous times, without undergoing serious injury—dying in 1658, only a month before the total collapse of the Commonwealth, through the decease of the Lord Protector. Warden Burt succeeded, and held the reins of office for twelve

years, when he gave place to one of the most prominent, as well as one of the most munificent, of the Wardens of Winchester, John Nicolas,—albeit posterity may be pardoned for wishing that he had dispensed his bounty after a somewhat different fashion. His first and greatest work is the large school-room, situated in the Mead beyond the Middle Court, and forming, with the Cloisters, the Refectory, and the wall shutting off the precincts of Commoners^p, a third irregularly-shaped quadrangle. He also built the garden-front of the Warden's House in 1692, and placed the Ionic reredos, screen, and square panelling in the chapel.

The school-room in question is a grand building, as regards size and proportion; being ninety feet long, thirty-six broad, and somewhere about thirty high. Nor is it an unfavourable specimen of the architectural taste of late Stuart times. But it is, nevertheless, a staring contrast, not only in respect of the material (brick, with stone coigns), as differing from the grey flint of the college, but still more in the style, which belongs to the debased Italian school, introduced into this country soon after the Restoration. There is the round-headed window, its glass unrelieved by mullion, transom, or tracery; there are the broad projecting eaves; the elliptical-headed doorway, resting on pilasters, and surmounted by the heavy protruding pent-house; there is the massive pediment and cornice, with their dull uniformity of outline; there are the staring stuccoed wreaths of flowers, to relieve the baldness of the brick wall over the windows. A man is greatly to be envied, who sees either grace or dignity in its façade. As for

^p This wall, together with the wash-house, Præfects' library, and adjoining school-rooms, was removed some years ago.

the frontage facing Meads, it seems to have been allowed by tacit consent to be so irreclaimably ugly, that nothing could be done to it which would render it any uglier. Therefore, the whole of the central bay has been coloured black, and its two windows covered with wire, in order to form a convenient ball-court. With the exception of the structure, over which Dante read the inscription that "all who entered there left hope behind," no mortal ever beheld so gloomy a frontage!

Inside it is somewhat, though not very much, better. The heavy ceiling is divided into three panels, each adorned by a circular wreath of flowers, worked in plaster: it rests on a high cornice, which is relieved by a series of shields, containing the armorial bearings of bishops and other benefactors, who contributed to the fund¹ for the erection of the school: these have been recently re-coloured and gilded. On the western wall, within a stucco-frame, is the famous Wykehamical device, three centuries and a-half old at the least, and no one can say how much older². It consists of three rows of emblems, each with its motto. The upper row represents a mitre and pastoral-staff, with the inscription, "aut disce," intimating that these might be looked forward to, as the possible rewards of diligence and obedience. How many episcopal and archiepiscopal eyes have rested on them in boyhood with

¹ It ought to be mentioned to Warden Nicolas's honour, that of the entire cost of the school (about £2,000), he contributed nearly three-fifths.

² The motto (emblems and all) was certainly fixed up in Seventh Chamber before the middle of the sixteenth century, since Christopher Johnson gives it in full (*De Coll. Schol.*, line 79). He also, in all likelihood, is the author of the verses assigning the same explanation as that given above, to the various devices. In any case, they belong to his times. See design, p. 62.

a vague and wondering hope; how many, in after life, have recognised their fulfilment! The second series of emblems consists of a sword, an ink-horn, and compass, with the words "aut discede" beneath; signifying that if any will not betake themselves to study, the army, the law, and the navy were still open to them, in all of which distinction might be won. This, too, has been perused again and again by young and ardent spirits, who felt that, although theology was not the pursuit that commended itself to their fancy, they would yet strive for, and were resolute to win, the coronet of the Chancellor, or the baton of the Field Marshal. There remains the third, and more peculiarly Wykehamical, device, the far-famed "*Vimen quadrifidum*," with its subscription, "*Manet sors tertia cædi*;" which not nascent bishops and judges only, but a vast multitude of others also, have contemplated with a prophetic assurance of approaching doom.

At the opposite end, enclosed in a similar border, is painted the "*Tabula Legum^s Pædagogicarum*,"

* The "*Tabula Legum*" was not painted up on the walls of Seventh Chamber in Johnson's time. He describes the devices, &c., depicted on the north-east and west walls, and none of these was the "*Tabula*;" while on the south wall, of course, there was no painting (see chap. v. p. 84). But there is a metrical version of the "*Tabula*," probably of his composition, but certainly of his date, which shews that the older version was in existence in his time, just as we have it now. The strong probabilities are, that the earliest form of the "*Tabula*" is coeval with the Founder. The direction for the scholars to walk "*sociati*" exactly corresponds with the passage in the New College Statutes, which prescribes that mode of walking as the befitting one. The "*togam nec dissuito nec lacerato*" similarly accords with the Winchester Statutes; so does "*patrium sermonem fugito*." The injunction, "*obviis honestioribus genua flectuntur*," is probably older than the Reformation. We may, also, apply the same argument here, as in the instance of the institution of the college offices. If any Warden had introduced the "*Tabula*" *de novo*, Johnson would certainly have

the antiquity of which is probably at least equal to that of its companion device, though its precise date is not known. Under these ornaments, the walls are wainscoted to the height of fourteen feet or so from the ground, with the heavy panelling of Charles II.'s time, everywhere except towards the centre of the northern side, where it rises to a cornice, and forms a huge open cupboard, once used as a bookcase. In the centre of this stands the stove, by which the room is warmed. This is elevated on three stone steps. In general, before the commencement of school, it used to be so thickly crowded with boys warming themselves, that not a speck of the white stone could be discerned.

At either end are three rows of solid seats, rising one above another, and called "books," at which the boys sat while saying their lessons. Adjoining these, at the south-west corner, is a solid triple seat, that in the centre being raised above the other two, and having a high pedimented back. This chair of state belongs properly to the Warden, who fills it only on grand occasions, as at "Medal-speaking" in election-week, or sometimes at "Commoner-speaking" during the earlier part of the long half-year. At ordinary times, it was used by the Head-master, whose proper seat was that to the left of the Warden. Under this imposing structure there is a hollow space, into which the boys contrived to make their way through a defective board; and various contraband articles were wont to be kept there, the Head-master little suspecting the "base uses" to which his very throne

mentioned it. The revised version is commonly believed to have been put up by Warden Huntingford early in his tenure of office. The old version was in existence, painted up on the school-wall as late as 1773 (*Hist. Winch.*, 1773). When Milner wrote his book, twenty years or so afterwards, the new one had been substituted.

of dignity was put. There is a legend, that a Præfect many years ago, being addicted to the playing of the violoncello, used to keep his instrument in that place ; and one day, in the midst of the lesson, one of the principal strings suddenly snapped immediately under the Head-master, who fairly sprang from his cushion in alarm.

At the opposite corner of the school, but on the same side of it, stands the chair of the Hostiarius, similar in appearance to that of the Warden, but not so high. The two remaining seats, facing those of the Informator and Hostiarius, are lower, and of a less dignified appearance. There are two broad gangways, one from end to end of the room, and the other from the door to the fireplace, and two others parallel with each of them ; those longwise, about eight feet from the walls, and those broadwise, in front of the rows of seats called "books." The spaces between these six passages are occupied by solid oak benches, intersecting each other at intervals of five feet or so ; and at the angles of the "squares" thus formed are placed wooden boxes of a peculiar construction, having an inner and an outer lid, and known in Wykehamical phrase as "scobs."

The only occurrence of note during Warden Burt's time, appears to have been the visitation of Winchester by the plague, which broke out there in the spring of 1666, when the disease travelled westwards, after its cessation in London. Its ravages, we are told, were terrible, more especially as regarded the proportion of the numbers who suffered from it. The dead were carried out in carts, as they were in London, and buried on the downs, where their graves may yet be seen. During the prevalence of the

scourge, the Warden of New College and Posers considered it imprudent to come to Winchester, and the election was held at Newbury,—the only time, so far as I am aware, when it did not take place in the chamber over Middle Gate.

But with Warden Nicolas there came the hope, at all events, of some return of Winchester's ancient greatness. Charles II. visited the city more than once, and at length, in 1682, took up his residence there, intending to make it his general place of abode, at such times when business did not require his presence in London. He laid the foundation-stone of a new palace on Castle Hill, which, if it had been completed, would probably have induced subsequent sovereigns to reside there also. But his death three years afterwards, before Wren had completed the work, put a stop to the building, which was afterwards converted into barracks for soldiers.

Charles's sojourn in the cathedral city brings before our notice another well-known character of those times, of whom Wykehamists are justly proud. This was Thomas Ken, son of Mr. Thomas Ken, attorney, of Berkhamsted, Herts, and admitted scholar of Winchester, A.D. 1650^t. What the religious teaching of the school was during his school-days, is more or less a matter of uncertainty. Warden Harris, beyond question, belonged to the Puritan party, being one of those who had sworn the Covenant; nor can it be questioned that he carried out the programme laid down by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which declared the Liturgy of the Church, the Creed, and even the Lord's Prayer and Ten

^t His name, with the date 1656, may still be read, cut by his own hand, in the college cloisters.

Commandments, to be valueless. We can hardly doubt that the "New Catechism" was what Ken was instructed in—strange, as it seems, that such fruit should have followed from such planting. But Warden Harris seems to have been a man of real piety, as well as of great ability as a preacher, having, indeed, been styled by Sir H. Saville (no mean authority) "a second Chrysostom." It may well be that Ken's natural piety, together with the excellence of his early teaching, enabled him to assimilate all that was good and sound in the instruction he received, and remain uninjured by its errors^u.

Ken removed to New College in 1656, and was made Fellow of Winchester ten years afterwards. In 1672 he came to reside in Winchester (where he had been made Canon of the Cathedral also), and devoted himself to the discharge of the duties belonging to these offices. Among them he numbered the care of the scholars of the college; for whom he drew up, in 1674, the most beautiful manual of prayers for school-boys which has ever been given to the world, and which has been the sacred inheritance of Winchester scholars to this day. Ken left the city in 1675, and though he returned some years afterwards when, in 1683, he refused to allow his Prebendal House to be occupied by the king's mistress, he does not seem to have again resided permanently in Winchester. He was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1684, was dispossessed of his bishopric in 1691, and died in 1711.

William Harris, the most distinguished of the Head-masters since the times of Johnson and Bilson, died in the last year of this century. He was made

^u John Potenger, Head-master, did resign in 1653, on account of the Puritanical innovations.

Fellow of New College in 1669, and of Winchester in 1677: he also held the Regius Professorship of Greek at Oxford for some years. He succeeded to the Head-mastership in 1678, at the same time when Nicholas was made Warden. He had the reputation of a considerable scholar, as well as of a liberal benefactor both to the cathedral and the college. He gave, among other benefactions, £100 to the building of the new school-room, and no less than £800, it is said, to improvements in the cathedral. Unhappily, the ideas in those days as to what constituted "improvements," hardly coincided with either the views of its original builders, or the architectural taste of the present day. A part of his bequest was expended in putting up Grecian vases, "sham urns," as Britton indignantly calls them, in the niches of the Gothic reredos. They have long since, happily, been removed.

With the close of the seventeenth century, all hopes of the restoration of Winchester to its ancient dignity as a royal residence, died out. During the short and troubled reign of James II., no heed was paid to the old cathedral town; further than that, it was made the scene of the judicial murder of Lady Lisle, and of a hurried visit of the king near about the same time. His successor was little inclined to shew favour to a city, the inhabitants of which bore a decided attachment to the exiled family. Queen Anne at one time, it was said, did contemplate the completion of the palace, as a place of residence for Prince George of Denmark; but the design was never carried out. The first two Georges had as little in common with Winchester, as William had felt. Nearly a century passed without the advent of a royal visitor.

Thomas Cheyney, who succeeded Harris as Informator, held the post for twenty-four years. He did not find, at his entrance on office, more Commoners than his predecessor had found on his election, previously to the building of the great school-room. Whatever may have been the reason, it is certain that they dwindled again, after the first rise of numbers, to barely forty : when Cheyney commenced his duties, they again rose to fifty ; but they fell off once more, until at his resignation, they had sunk to little more than twenty. When Dr. Burton succeeded to Cheyney's vacancy, the numbers on the list of Commoners were only twenty-two.

The celebrated Wykehamists of this century are not numerous. Among the bishops there are Lloyd, Turner, and Ken, three of the seven sent to the Tower by James, and the last two nonjurors also : Sir Thomas Brown, author of the "*Religio Medici*:" the poets Otway, Young, Somerville, and John Phillips, exhaust the catalogue. All these, except Otway, were in college.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMONERS BEFORE BURTON.

BUT it is time that we say somewhat of another branch of the school, which has hitherto been mentioned only casually, but which will now assume a much more prominent place in its history. Up to the time when Warden Nicolas built his school-room, the number of Commoners must of necessity have been comparatively small, and (as will presently be shewn) probably consisted in a great measure of very young boys, who were sent, in the hope of obtaining nominations to college. There was, indeed, no possibility of accommodating any considerable number in the only school-room which Wykeham had provided; and there is no hint anywhere given of a supplementary apartment having been used. But when a room had been built, in which as many as two hundred could be received without inconvenience, the case became different. It was obviously the interest of the Informator and Hostiarius, that non-foundationers should be admitted, as the fees they paid would speedily increase their stipends sevenfold. It was scarcely less the interest of the Warden and Fellows, because an ample salary would thus be provided for the Masters, without drawing on the funds of the college. And thus, after several abortive attempts, in the middle of the eighteenth century, "Commoners" proper came into being, and has ever since been the larger, and, we may surely say, a not less loyal, portion of the community.



F. J. Bourgent. del.

COLLEGE STREET. WINCHESTER. IN 1838.

Is not that so, *mes freres*? Though we were not in college, and therefore, so to speak, not William of Wykeham's genuine offspring, do we not claim him as our father by adoption, and hold as warm a place in his regard? His object was to diffuse education as widely as was in his power. For those who were unable to meet the cost of this, and yet were subjects for it, he instituted his munificent foundation. For those who were able to pay, he ordained that they should equally share these benefits, only at their own proper cost.

Yes, we too are Wykeham's children^a. If we did not wear his gown and surplice; if we did not sleep in chambers, or dine in college-hall, or take the oath of fidelity to his foundation, which even the bitter Puritan of Cromwell's days found it impossible to break—yet what Commoner, worthy of the name, ever acknowledged a less sacred obligation? How many noble associations do we owe to Wykeham's bounty? The glorious old city, still royal in its decay; the breezy heights of St. Catherine's, with its solitary tuft of firs; the old schoolroom, with its "books," and "scobs," and quaint mural painting; the noble chapel, where the sun would stream gloriously through the Jesse window; where we listened to more than one beloved voice, which "though dead, still speaketh;" the yet grander cathedral, whither, Sunday after Sunday, we were wont in our simple procession to repair; the sweet strain of "*dulce domum*," sung in the summer twilight,—

^a A distinction is generally drawn in old documents between the "commensals," and the "children." But the expression, "child," is sometimes applied to the Commoners, even as late as Burton's time. In the ground-plan of the buildings of this date, the rooms belonging to the Commoners are described as "child's bed-room," "child's dressing-room," &c.

these are ours, as truly as though our names had been duly enrolled in the Warden's books, and we had faced in awe and trembling, the magnates of election-chamber. The Founder distinctly recognises us. He himself placed a considerable number of Commoners in his school, when first opened^b; and he further provides in his Statutes for the admission of another class of Commoners, persons of rank and means. "Permittimus," these are his words, "quod filii nobilium et valentium personarum, dicti collegii specialium amicorum, usque ad numerum decennariam^c intra idem collegium in grammaticâ instrui valeant et etiam informari absque onere collegii supradicti."

There is reason to believe that several of this privileged class were early admitted, and boarded within the college. It is on record that two of the Uvedale family were so received during the Founder's lifetime, they being connected with his family through

^b "Præterea pueros etiam complures, extra eos qui in collegium fuerant adscripti, in urbe etiam atque suburbiis Wintoniæ, qui una cum alumnis suis in collegio instituerentur, suis sumptibus aluit."—Martin, Vit. Wyk., lib. ii. cap. ii.

^c There seems to be a widespread opinion, that this handful of youths of noble family were the ancestors, so to speak, of the Commoners, who were received subsequently, in considerable numbers, into the school. The Public School Commissioners express themselves to this effect, affirming that there is no ground for believing that Wykeham ever contemplated the presence of any boys at his school, except his own seventy scholars, and the "filii nobilium;" but with all deference to the Public School Commissioners, I think they are in error. Wykeham in his Statutes only speaks of what is to take place *inside* the college; he says nothing, one way or the other, about any outsiders. We must assume, I think, that those "quos, in urbe et suburbiis Wintoniæ, suis sumptibus aluit," were the first Commoners, according to the present usage of the term. There is no mention of these for a long time subsequently; but there is no reason to suppose that they ceased to be received. The two classes of Commoners, quite distinct from one another, certainly existed in the sixteenth century. See farther on, p. 106.

the marriage of his great-nephew, William, son of Alice Perott, with Alicia Uvedale. It has also been suggested that William Waynflete may possibly have been among those thus received, he being a man of good family; but it is also not unlikely that he may have belonged to the other class of "commensales," whom Wykeham sent to the school at his own cost.

The original arrangement, as regards the "filii nobilium," appears to have been, that some were lodged in the apartments of the Warden, the Fellows, and Masters; while such as could not find accommodation there, were received, at Wykeham's request, by the brethren of the college of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, which stood in St. Stephen's Mead, immediately adjoining the south-eastern portion of the college property. St. Elizabeth's was an ancient institution; ancient it might be called, even in Wykeham's time, having been founded by John de Pontissara, Bishop of Winchester, nearly a hundred years before the opening of his college. It contained seven Chaplains (one of whom had the primacy over the others), six clerks in holy orders, three deacons, and three subdeacons, and six choristers. In the accounts of this college for the year 1462, there is a charge entered of thirty shillings and eightpence, for thirty-eight weeks' board of one William Norton, a Commoner, studying at the newly-established College of St. Mary, and taking his meals at the common table of the hospital,—something less than tenpence a-week.

St. Elizabeth's College remained unaltered till the time of the Reformation, when (as the reader has heard) it was dissolved, Henry VIII. having made a grant of it to Chancellor Wriothesley. It was valued at £112 per annum; but its new owner sold it to Winchester College for the sum of £360—

conditionally on that society converting it within a certain specified time, into a school for twenty scholars, or pulling it down. Unfortunately the college chose the alternative last named, and entirely removed the building. The outlines of the ancient foundations may still be traced during the hot summer months, in the old Mead of St. Stephen, at no great distance from the spot where the new bathing-place for the boys has been constructed. The present wall, which bounds the southern side of Meads as far as Amen Corner, was built from the *débris* of the old fabric; which fact accounts for the old gurgoyles, and corbels, and carved stonework of various kinds, mixed up with the rest of the materials in it^d.

Its demolition must be regarded as most unfortunate. Built at the very finest period of our Church Architecture, we can hardly doubt that Elizabeth College was a beautiful structure, and it was fully large enough to accommodate thirty boys. If the building had been retained, and additions made to it in the same style, as the numbers of Commoners pressing for admission increased, the two colleges might have stood side by side even to the present day, vying with each other in utility and beauty, and the irreclaimable ugliness of many of the present surroundings would have been avoided.

Yet the College could hardly be blamed for what they did, and still less could John White, who at this time was Warden^e. It is probable that they had no

^d The carved lion's head also, in the first court, opposite the Warden's door, is thought to have been brought from the ruins of St. Elizabeth.

^e John White's career was an extremely chequered one. He was made Informator in 1537, and Warden in 1541. He anticipated his future advancement so little, as to write his own epitaph, as one who would never leave the college; but he was made Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester, by Mary.

choice in the matter, finding it impossible to obtain the funds necessary for altering Elizabeth College according to Wriothesley's requirements. Henry's Statute was at this time hanging over the heads of the Warden and Fellows, "*silex jam jam lapsura cadentique assimilis*," and threatening the total destruction of Wykeham's foundation. It was no time for receiving new "olive-yards and vineyards." Well if they could keep their own.

So the old hospital was demolished ; and the noble youths who had been quartered there were removed, and either boarded in college, or (as is possible) allowed to lodge at their own cost in the town. By this time the other class of Commoners (mentioned in the note on p. 102) appears to have increased to a considerable number. We find Edward VI., in his Visitation of 1547, ordering that the "Informator and Hostiarius shall have their *accustomed fees* from the Commoners, and that the Warden and Fellows shall have no part thereof." This cannot refer to the "*fili nobilem*," whether they continued to board with the Warden and Fellows or not. They do not seem to have paid any fee for tuition, but to have made a handsome donation to the college at their entrance or departure, or it might be at both. It can only refer to the "*commensales ad mensam puerorum*," as this lower class is called, as distinguished from the "*commensales ad mensam sociorum et magistrorum*," the term applied to the more aristocratic class. These, of course, would pay a fee for being

At her death he preached a sermon, in which he highly lauded the dead queen, "the Mary who had chosen the better part," but besought some favour for Elizabeth, on the ground that "a live dog is better than a dead lion." Elizabeth acknowledged the compliment by sending the preacher to the Tower, and depriving him of his bishopric. He died in 1560.

taught, and it seems to have been a dispute between the Warden and Masters—whether the latter should have the whole, or only a part, of these—which caused Edward's interference.

At all events, in Elizabeth's time, there is the clearest evidence that, over and above the scions of noble families, there was a numerous class of Commoners belonging to the same grade of life as the Scholars. We are informed that they were frequently candidates for admission to the foundation, and were subject to exactly the same rules as the college boys. In an Inquisition held by Bishop Horne, A.D. 1571, the fifteenth of his Injunctions requires :—

“That every Fellowe, scholemaster, usher, conduct, or servant of the house, and every *oppidan or commensal* (as they term them), which come to the Schole for lerning, shall refrain from the company of excommunicate persons.”

The eighteenth Injunction, again, orders :—

“That noe child, or commensal in the college, were any great hose, or bands, or ruffe, or wrought with silk or gold ; nor shall the ‘tutors and governors’ of such children bye any such gay apparel, nor suffer them to wear any such ; and what commensal shall in any way ruffle or exceade, if he stand in election to be a scholar, it shall be sufficient objection to repell him.” But from this ordinance the sons of the “*nobilium et valentium personarum*” of Wykeham's original Statute are specially exempted. This, of course, will surprise no one who is acquainted with the sumptuary laws of the period ; but it proves conclusively the existence of a class of Commoners, distinct from that mentioned in the Statutes of the Founder, and the suggested likelihood of their candidature for the college confirms it.

The same distinctions existed at Eton and Westminster also. At the former there were the "*generosorum filii commensales*"^f, or "Gentlemen Commoners" (a class admitted at a great many of the colleges at Oxford before the middle of the present century, and still, I believe, existing at some of them), and the ordinary "*commensales*" or "*oppidans*." The first-named of these dined at a higher and more expensive table.

At Westminster, whose present foundation dates only from Edward VI.'s time, there were, from the first, three classes—the "*pensionarii*," corresponding to the "*nobilium filii*" of Eton and Winchester; the "*peregrini*," or strangers, sent for education to the school from a distance; and the "*oppidani*," or sons of residents in the town. These last two are the "*town-boys*" and "*home-boarders*" of the present day—a mere subdivision of the "*commensales*" and "*oppidani*" of Winchester and Eton.

Doubtless, the growth of this order of Commoners, belonging as it did to the middle classes, then beginning to form an important portion of the community, caused disputes to arise as to the amount of payment to be made for them. It has already been observed that the "*filii nobilium*" in all likelihood did not pay any fixed sum, but made a munifi-

^f These, as in the instance of Winchester, were the only ones provided for in the original Statutes. They were to be received, "*filii nobilium et valentium personarum collegii specialium amicorum*," (the exact words of Wykeham's Statute,) to the number of *twenty*, boarded and lodged in college, but at their own proper cost; but at Eton, as at Winchester, Commoners of the same grade as the Collegers were subsequently, if not contemporaneously, admitted. The home-boarders also existed, under the name of "*Street Commoners*," until the middle of the eighteenth century.

cent present to the college, either at their coming or departure. There are traces of this custom still at Eton ; and down to the middle of the eighteenth century it prevailed at Winchester. Dr. Burton's "gentlemen commoners," whom he lodged most probably in the rooms which he erected behind the second master's house, at the very outset of his Headmastership, made him splendid presents when they quitted school ; their own pictures^g, handsomely framed, as well as costly articles of plate and *vertu*, which more than compensated the cost of their board and lodging. But with "commensales" of a lower rank it would be a regular matter of bargain ; and in times when the value of money was continually changing, it is no wonder if the rate of payment became a *vexata quæstio*, and required arbitration. Accordingly, Archbishop Bancroft, at his visitation in 1608, orders that "the Commoners shall, every one of them, pay for their commons four shillings by the week, in the same manner that the former weekly sums for their commons were paid."

There is still extant the account charged to J. Hutton (son of Matthew Hutton, sometime Archbishop of York), in the year 1620, for his board, lodging, and sundries, with Mr. Phillips, the Fellow with whom he resided in college. The details may interest the reader. The weekly charge, we may observe, is somewhat higher than that fixed by Bancroft twelve years before.

^g These pictures, long consigned to a loft in the Second Master's house, were exhumed by a recent Hostiarius, the Rev. F. Wickham, and hung up in the Second Master's dining-room, the place for which they were originally designed. Dr. Burton's family were long in possession of a silver bowl, and a gold cup with a coronet, the gifts of the pupils.

"J. Hutton to Christmas, at his entraunce into the

Colledge. £ s. d.

Imprimis for his dyet at Mr. Phillips's from Aug.

16 to Sept. 31 (<i>sic</i>)	1	10	0
Item for a new goune	—	16	9
for powling (probably "polling," i.e. hair-cutting) money	—	1	0
for chamberlocks	—	1	6
To his predecessor for glasse windowes	—	1	0
For a scobb to hold his books	—	3	6
For making his Surplisse	—	2	6
5 ells and three quarters of holland for it	—	13	5
for 5 elles and a quarter of canvis	—	5	5
for 30 lb. of flock	—	15	0
for a coverlid	—	10	0
for a payre of blanquetts	—	11	0

Subsequently, there is a charge for Master Hutton's share of a pic-nic of those days. The boys, it seems, went out in a party to see the royal hunt in the New Forest. A waggon was hired to convey them, three of the college-servants accompanying it; and they had their dinner and wine in the forest, not forgetting to make a good supper off Cæcubum (whatever wine that may describe), and other viands, after their return. The charges were sufficiently moderate; only four shillings was paid for the waggon, and the entire cost to the boys was but 6*d.* a-head. Another item occurs somewhat lower down in the bill, which does not read quite so pleasantly, especially as it is repeated with ominous frequency throughout the bill—viz. for "mending his clothes," "mending his gown," "mending his hose;" also another, still more uncomfortable charge, "for birche," 4*d.* Possibly there was some connection between these several heads of expenditure.

Master Hutton, we may notice, had been for some time a Commoner, previously to his admission to the foundation. Nicolas Harpsfield tells us that such was his own case also: he was sent to Winchester in 1528, but not admitted to college till 1529. Horne's Injunctions, already quoted, shew that this was frequently the case. We can well understand that a candidate's diligence and steadiness would in this manner be satisfactorily tested, and in some instances the electors would very likely require it^h. This may account at once for the very early age at which some Commoners were receivedⁱ, and for the fact that so few Commoners during the earlier history of the college attained to distinction in after-life. All those who displayed ability and perseverance were pretty sure to be elected on to the foundation: in fact, this came to be so commonly the case, that it was regarded at last as a kind of right. In the reign of Charles II., not long after the Restoration, one Thomas Middleton petitioned the king to grant him a royal letter to the electors at Winchester, requiring them to admit his son as a Scholar at Winchester College, where he had spent three years as a "*fellow*^k commoner." How the affair ended we are not informed, but it is obvious that beyond a certain point the practice could not be adhered to. All who were elected

^h At Westminster, a previous continuance of a twelvemonth in the school as a town-boy, is required for all who are candidates for college.

ⁱ In 1655, a boy of six years old was admitted a Commoner. He was the pupil of Mr. May.

^k I suppose a "Commoner boarding with a Fellow." The "Fellow Commoners" at some of the Cambridge colleges, I apprehend, derived their name, in the first instance, from the same practice; though the name may have been given because they dined at the Fellows' table.

Scholars might be required to pass some time previously in the school, as Commoners; but it was impossible that all who had resided as Commoners, could be admitted as Scholars, for the plain reason that there would not be a sufficient number of vacancies for them. In 1668, there were thirty Commoners; ten years afterwards nearly fifty¹; ten years again after that, when the great school had been opened, close upon seventy.

Where the great bulk of these was lodged, is a point which will be considered in the next chapter; but it is obvious, that such of the "*filii nobilium et valentium*" as could not be received into the Headmaster's house in college, were permitted (in Dr. Burton's time, at all events) to rent their own lodgings in the town, only attending the school and chapel services. Bishop Ken, in the *Manual of Prayers* to which reference has already been made, and which was published first in 1674, speaks of the Commoners in a manner which shews that they either had rooms to themselves, or, at all events, that only one or two slept in the same apartment. "If you are a Commoner," he writes, "you may say your prayers in your own chamber; but if you are a child, or a Chorister, to avoid the interruption of the common chamber, go into the chapel."

The reader will not be surprised to learn, that the arrangements here described did not conduce to morality or good discipline. One of Dr. Burton's aristocratic pupils at this period was Lord Elcho, son

¹ Where all these could have been *taught* is a problem I am unable to solve. Seventh Chamber would not afford sufficient space even for seventy, according to modern requirements; but at no period could a hundred and twenty have been included in it.

of Lord Wemyss, and afterwards distinguished as one of the most prominent officers in Charles Edward's enterprise in 1745. Of him Ewald, the biographer of Prince Charles, writes: "As soon as his son reached boyhood, Lord Wemyss sent him to Winchester (probably somewhere *circa* 1735), where, if we can credit the diary of Lord Elcho, the discipline enforced was not of the strictest character. The boys played cards, haunted taverns, and their morals were anything but carefully looked into." "We did not learn Latin and Greek," frankly writes Lord Elcho, "as well as we should have done, had we been placed with a private tutor, but we were taught how to live as men of the world (!), and made acquaintances, which, if cultivated, would be very useful to us in after life." Among these "useful acquaintances" were the sons of the Dukes of Hamilton, Devonshire, and Queensborough, and the Earls of Exeter and Coventry. As in the outer world, the school was divided into Jacobites and Hanoverians, and frequent conflicts would ensue between those who supported King Jamie, and those who gave their adherence to the "wee wee German Geordie."

The character given by Lord Elcho^m of the Winchester of his youth, bears out, only too fully, the picture drawn by Smollett, in his novel of "Peregrine Pickle;" which otherwise we should be apt to fancy an impossible, or at all events an overcoloured, repre-

^m Lord Elcho, by his father's desire, immediately after leaving Winchester, joined the Jacobite army in Scotland. On the field of Culloden he earnestly besought the Prince to charge at the head of the left wing, which was still unbroken; and when Charles refused, left him with a bitter curse, vowing never to see his face again—which oath he is said by some to have kept religiously. One wonders, rather, that a fiery character like his should have left no souvenir of his schoolboy-days in the memories of his contemporaries.

sensation of the public school of the day. Peregrine Pickle, it will be remembered, is described as having been sent to Winchester, along with his servant and tutor, about the middle of the century (the date of the novel is 1751). Smollett cannot be supposed to describe his own experiences, seeing that he never was at any public school, or, indeed, any English school at all. Nor is there (so far as I am aware) any reason for supposing a portraiture of Dr. Burton to have been designed, or that the events he details in the novel actually took place. But Smollett was careful to draw his pictures after the real life of the day, and would hardly have introduced any very gross or extravagant caricature. His descriptions tally only too accurately with those we find in the pages of Henry Brook, as well as in those of Thomas Day, and Cowper the poetⁿ, a generation subsequently. And further, among the many unfavourable criticisms to which "*Peregrine Pickle*" gave rise, I do not find that flagrant misrepresentation, or any misrepresentation at all, of the internal condition of a public school, was ever alleged. But if his portraiture be even approximately correct, in what a state must Winchester have been in his day!

Peregrine is described as having been sent at the age of "twelve," with his "governor," Mr. Jolter, and his servant, Tom Pipes, to reside in lodgings in Winchester, and attend the school. The tutor, or "governor," was designed to supply the place of the Master out of school, and be answerable for the pupil's morals; and the custom, as the reader has

ⁿ "Fool of Quality," 1769; "Sandford and Merton," 1783: "Tirocinium," 1784.

heard, is as old as Elizabeth's time°. But whatever may have been their value then, if we may judge from the light literature of the day, these "Dr. Panglosses" and "Mr. Jacob Jolters," were in the eighteenth century of a very doubtful service to their wards. They are represented as mostly needy personages on their preferment, who sought to curry favour with their charges, by winking very hard at their misdemeanours. "Tom Pipes," again, is a genuine servant of the Leporello school, whose business it is to pander to Don Juan's follies and vices, and supply him with continual amusement.

Peregrine soon makes himself popular among his school-fellows, by leadership in mischief. He diverts himself by making his "governor" the butt of his wit; he invites his school-fellows to "debauches," where he mixes brandy with Mr. Jolter's wine, and then exposes him to ridicule in a state of semi-intoxication. All semblance of authority is, of course, lost by the tutor after this occurrence. Peregrine becomes the *dux* in all kinds of mischief, in defiance of the regulations of the school; until, after a full year of these practices, the attention of the Headmaster *is* at last called to them. Thereupon, the latter sends for Mr. Jolter, and requires him to "check the vivacity" of his pupil.

Mr. Jolter, unable to exercise any authority, attempts first a mild remonstrance, and then suggests the study of mathematics (!), as the course most likely to divert his pupil from his objectionable pursuits. Peregrine is at first attracted by the novelty of the subjects set before him; but his interest in Euclid begins to diminish soon after the crossing

° See Horne's Injunctions, p. 106. Peregrine, no doubt, was a Gentleman Commoner.

of the "pons asinorum," and breaks down altogether before he reaches the 47th proposition. He returns to his old pursuits with redoubled ardour. He is aided to the utmost by his Leporello, who "instructs the younger boys in games of hustle-cap, leap-frog, and chuck-farthing," and the seniors "in cudgel playing, dancing the St. Giles's hornpipe, drinking flip, and chewing tobacco." A serious riot in an apple-orchard, the owner of which is nearly killed in the course of the fray, is at length brought to the notice of the authorities, and Peregrine, as the leader of the outrage, is publicly flogged.

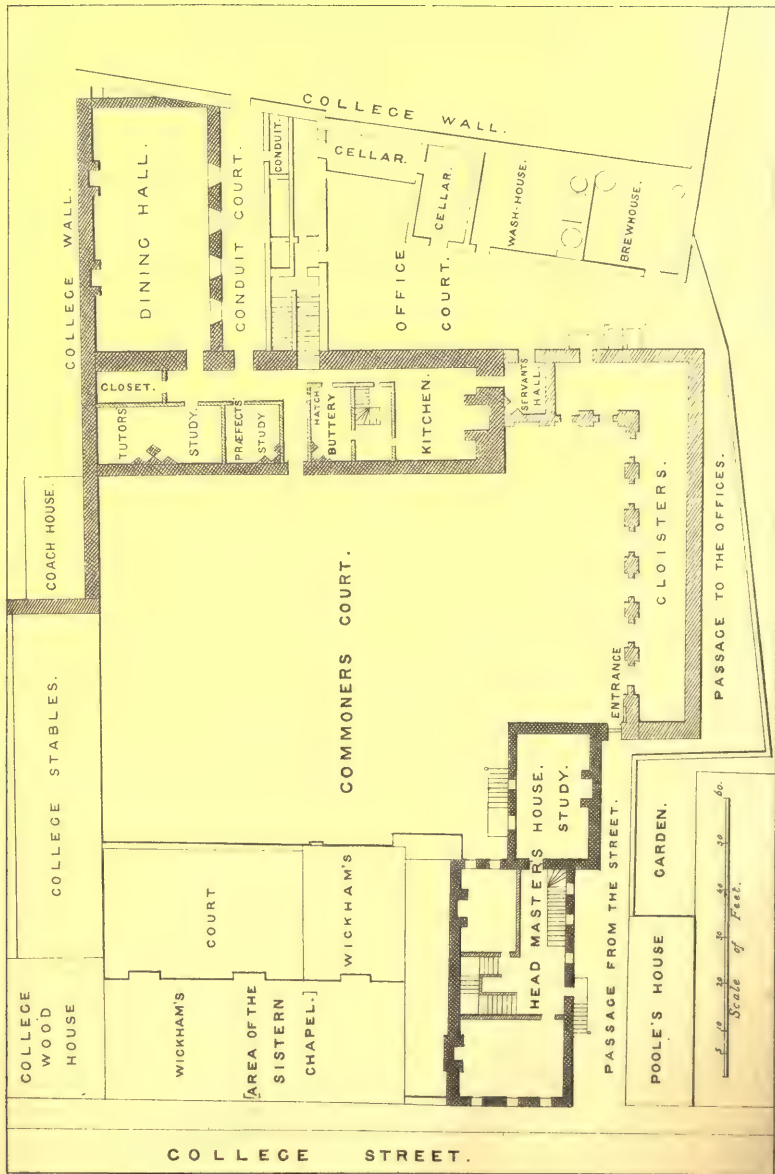
But this indignity, though it has the effect of inducing him to avoid this particular kind of exploit for the future, does not effect much general improvement. He "adopts the pride and sentiments of a man." Having now passed his *fourteenth* year, he "frequents public walks, concerts and assemblies, becomes remarkably rich and fashionable in his clothes, and gives entertainments to the ladies." Inquiries are made concerning his condition; and "no sooner are his expectations known, than he is invited and caressed by all the parents, while the daughters vie with each other in treating him with particular complacency." Presently he meets with a young lady who is the belle of the race-ball, and falls deeply in love with her. Attended by Pipes, he runs away from school for a fortnight, and takes lodgings in her immediate neighbourhood, in order to prosecute his addresses to her. By-and-by his governor, by the help of a friend, discovers the place of his retreat, and earnestly implores him to return to Winchester. Peregrine "starts with concern when he hears the suggestion, and, his visage glowing with indignation, tells him he is old enough to judge of his own con-

duct, and when he sees it convenient, he will return of himself." The other, however, urges his point with so many and such warm "expressions of friendship and respect," that Peregrine suffers himself to be persuaded, and returns to Winchester. Here he is received with general rejoicing. Any one who is impertinent enough to inquire the reason of his fortnight's absence from school, is told that he "has been with a relation in the country," and the Head-master "condescends to overlook his indiscretion." So end "Peregrine Pickle's school-days" at Winchester. He betakes himself, accompanied by the same governor and servant, in his seventeenth year, to Oxford, having to all appearance passed through the period of his pupilage to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

Well might Tom Warton write^p, in 1760, when this system had been put an end to, that "the Commoners being lodged in one building, under the immediate charge of the Head-master, is a situation which must be acknowledged to be far more convenient for the purposes of learning and good discipline, than the usual custom of our public schools, where the youths are boarded in the town, and are, by this means, at a distance from the necessary and proper inspection of their governors."

Never had man a more complete justification for the introduction of a radical change, than had Dr. Burton, when (as we shall hear farther on) he founded "Commoners."

^p "A Description of the City, Cathedral, and College of Winchester," published *circa* 1760, anonymously; but it is well known that T. Warton was its author.



GROUND PLAN OF OLD COMMONERS, 1838.

F. J. Baigent, del. 1878.

CHAPTER VII.

DR. BURTON, FOUNDER OF COMMONERS.

JOHN BURTON, born in 1690, and appointed successor to Cheyney in 1724, was a man of good descent. The records of his family are given by Nicolls in the fourth volume of his History of Leicestershire. On his father's side, he inherited the blood of the ancient Burtons of Sudley, and on his mother's, that of the Bohuns. Through the last-named parent he claimed kinship with the Founder. His father was Humphrey Burton, Esq., of Kersley, near Coventry. He had two brothers, one older and one younger^a than himself—Simon, who was, like himself, a Fellow of New College, and afterwards a physician of some repute in London; and George, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

He obtained his election to Winchester College as C.F. in 1705, succeeding to New College in 1710, taking his M.A. degree in 1717, and his D.D., 1727. In 1719, being then in his twenty-ninth year, he received his first preferment, Crux Easton, near Newbury. In the same year he was presented to Marshfield, in Gloucestershire; and twelve months afterwards, to Chesterton, in Oxfordshire, both of them New College livings. Two years after this he was chosen Fellow of Winchester College. In 1724, as the reader has already learned, he was ap-

^a On the monument erected by Dr. Smyth to the memory of Dr. Burton, in the Ante-chapel of the college (now removed to the Cloisters), he is described as the *third* son of Humphrey Burton; but the family records shew this to be a misstatement.

pointed Informator, and held that office for a period of no less than forty-two years,—the longest tenure of office on record among the Head-masters of Winchester.

Notwithstanding the lengthened term of his Head-mastership, little seems to be known of him, except in connection with his architectural works, and the history of his more celebrated pupils. Among these are Lowth, Bishop of London, author of the well-known "Commentaries on the Prophets," the "Prælections, or Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews," and the "Life of Wykeham;" Chandler, the author of the "Marmora Oxoniensia;" Collins, Warton, and Whitehead, the poets; Hampton, the translator of Polybius; Chief-Justice Eyre, of Wilkes notoriety; and (as was mentioned in the last chapter) Lord Elcho, the celebrated Jacobite officer. Interesting anecdotes are related of his relations with some of these.

Of Lowth it is told, that Burton, for some school offence, once required him to write a copy of verses on the east window of the college chapel; where the genealogy of our Lord was exhibited in the richly-painted glass of former days. The boy took to his task *con amore*, and produced so excellent a poem, that Burton published it with some emendations of his own in a magazine. It appears that he did not even ask the young author's leave for this proceeding, fearing, perhaps, that his modesty would induce him to decline the honour. We should consider this a strange step in our days; but public feeling on such points was different then. The anecdote shews the desire of the scholar to satisfy his master's requirements, and the pride and interest felt by the master in his pupil's work. Another

school exercise of Lowth's^b was published in the same manner, but not until some years afterwards.

Possibly the fame of Dr. Burton's scholars had reached the ears of Pope the poet; for in the year 1733, while the guest of the well-known Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, at his residence near Southampton, he visited the college in company with his host. The Earl offered ten guineas as prizes, and Pope set the subject for the exercises, choosing "The Campaign of Valentia," in which Lord Peterborough had played so conspicuous a part.

One of the successful candidates was William Whitehead, at that time "Præfect of Hall," and afterwards Poet Laureate. He had come to Winchester in 1729, a delicate lad of fourteen, unable to join in the rough sports of his school-fellows. It is related of him, that when obliged to go on to "Hills" with the others, he would seek a sequestered nook, and read some book of poetry, of which he was passionately fond, his especial study being "Atlantis." Instead of sending up verse-tasks of the ordinary length, he would fill up the whole sheet with English poetry. Dr. Burton, we are told, at first discouraged this, but afterwards, perceiving the decided bias of the boy's mind, and the real ability he possessed, permitted it, and was soon "charmed with," nay, spoke with rapture of, "his pupil's productions." When only sixteen he wrote a comedy, and in the following winter, at Dr. Burton's request, acted the part of Marcia in Addison's *Cato*, as well as one of the female parts in Terence's *Andria*. Macaulay speaks somewhat severely of Whitehead, calling him "the greatest tuft-hunter of his day." But, seeing

^b On St. Catherine's Hill.

that the lad had to make his own way in life, having no relatives able to help him, and no private means ; seeing, also, that his only apparent prospect of successfully accomplishing it lay in obtaining a fellowship at New College, and that this had failed—there being no vacancy for him when he had reached the top of the school,—it seems rather hard to blame him for attempting to attach himself to the young men of rank and influence ; who, as Dr. Burton's Gentlemen Commoners, were his school-fellows. In any case, it ought to be recorded to his honour, that notwithstanding his failure in obtaining New College (which was not without a suspicion of unfairness on the part of the electors), Whitehead retained a warm regard for both his old Head-master, and his old Warden also. In the verses which, after his elevation to the Laureateship, he addressed to Dr. Lowth, his old school-fellow, he speaks honourably of both Drs. Bigg and Burton :—

“ So let me still, with filial love, pursue
The nurse and parent of my infant thought,
From whence the colour of my life I drew,
When Bigg presided, and when Burton taught.”

And of the latter he adds more warmly :—

“ Th' insatiable hour
Extends his deathful sway o'er all that breathes.
Nor aught avails it that the virtuous sage
Forms future bards, or Wykehams yet to come ;
Nor aught avails it that his green old age,
From youth well spent, may seem t' elude the tomb,—
For Burton too must fall.”

A more illustrious, but less happy pupil, was William Collins, who entered the college about the same time at which Whitehead left it. He, too, it would appear, received from Burton the same kind of en-

couragement bestowed on Lowth and Whitehead; for we find that he wrote his "Oriental Eclogues" while he was still a boy in college, and published them two years after leaving Winchester. Some verses of his, addressed to "a lady weeping at her sister's marriage," appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" as early as October, 1739, the poet being then in his eighteenth year. Warton reports of his friend's school-performances, that his "English verse was better than his Latin." Collins was as unfortunate in the matter of succession to New College as Whitehead had been. Though his name stood first on the roll, he could not obtain admission there; but went to Magdalen College, Oxford, instead. I am not aware that he has anywhere in his writings made reference to his school-days.

A third scholar of Burton's, who can claim to rank as one of the English minor poets, is Joseph Warton^c, two years or so junior to Collins, but nevertheless his chosen school-friend. Wooll states that, in conjunction with Collins and another boy, Warton sent to the "Gentleman's Magazine" three poetical pieces of such sterling value, as called forth a most flattering critique from Johnson. Also, that he had seen a genuinely humorous poem, penned by Warton while a Præpostor, and spoken by one of his (school) pupils from the rostrum^d. A story is also told of his having been found, when quite a junior, endeavouring to play on Bishop Ken's organ, preserved in one of the Fellows' chambers.

Warton fared no better than his two brother poets in election-chamber. No vacancy was forthcoming in his year of superannuation, and he matriculated at

^c Wooll's "Life of Warton," vol. i.

^d See Glossary on "Pulpiteers."

Oriel. But, like Whitehead, he retained a great affection for his old master. On the occasion of the death of the latter in 1774, he wrote the verses which are published among his works, and in which the spirit of Burton is supposed to be consoling the scholars grieving for his loss:—

“Bathe not for me, dear youths, your mournful lays
In bitter tears. O’er blooming Beauty’s grave
Let pity wring her hands. I, full of years,
Of honours full, satiate of life, retire,
Like an o’erworn pilgrim to his home,
Nor at my lot repine.”

James Hampton, though a much less distinguished writer than any of the above, deserves mention as a sound and approved scholar. Nothing, that I am aware of, has been preserved relating to his school-days. The only incident recorded of his Oxford career (see *Life of Collins, Pickering*, p. xx.), does not afford much reason for regretting the fact.

All the above-named pupils of Dr. Burton were College-boys. The remaining three on the list, Chandler, Lord Elcho, and Chief-Justice Eyre, were Commoners. Of the first of these during his stay at Winchester nothing is known, except that he and his elder brother, Daniel, were wont to provoke the merriment of their school-fellows, by the curious contrast which their personal appearance presented; the elder being remarkably tall and square, the younger as remarkably short and round. The reader has already heard Lord Elcho’s description of his school-boy days, which are not so edifying as to invite repetition*. Eyre again, has left no trace of his

* William Eyre was Recorder of London in 1771. When the Corporation of London, in the interest of John Wilkes, voted a remonstrance to the king, amounting very nearly to sedition, Eyre had the firmness to refuse to present it, though his refusal

sojourn in Commoners; which is the more to be regretted, as his experiences would probably have given a somewhat different picture from that of Lord Elcho's drawing.

These details of Dr. Burton's Head-mastership, and of the pupils whom he taught, are meagre enough; nor do they impress us with any idea of unusual capacity or success. In truth, if it was not for the acuteness he displayed in discerning the requirements of the school under the altered circumstances of his times, and the munificent liberality with which he endeavoured to supply them, there would be little to distinguish his tenure of office from that of his predecessors. But he doubtless saw that the college could not, in its existing state, continue to be one of the great schools of England. The endowments of the Mastership, under the Founder's will, were fixed at a certain sum, which did not pay even the Head-master per annum more than four and sixpence a-head, for each of the seventy scholars; and the Statutes expressly forbade any payment to be received from the scholars themselves. Such a stipend would not be counted sufficient even for the humblest curate of those days, and it was idle to expect that men of mark and ability would accept a post so remunerated. The only hope of meeting the difficulty lay in receiving a large number of Commoners, whose payments would afford the masters an adequate stipend. In this way Winchester might still continue to hold its own against such schools as Eton and Westminster, but hardly otherwise^f. Again, Dr. Burton

cost him his office. He was afterwards made puisne judge, and finally Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas.

^f Dr. Snape, who resigned the Head-mastership of Eton

was probably alive to the fact that, setting the financial question aside, education could not be conducted as successfully in a school of seventy boys, as in one of six times its size. Either there could not be a sufficient number of classes to provide for the gradual upward progress of boys, or there would be too few in each class to obtain the advantages which arise from competition and common work; not to say that each master would have more classes on his hands than he could properly manage. But the attempt to take Commoners on a large scale had been made for the last thirty years, and without success. The numbers once or twice did shew a considerable increase, though never anything resembling those of the other great public schools; but they had always fallen off again to a mere handful. How was this to be remedied?

Dr. Burton, very early in his career, made arrangements for the proper reception of his "*generosi commensales*." "In 1727 he expended a considerable sum," says Mr. Blackstone, "in new buildings in the schoolmaster's lodgings, and in repairing and ornamenting the old." These portions of what is now the Second Master's house, facing Old Commoner Court, are easily distinguished from the rest of the college on account of the difference of material and style. Here he lodged his aristocratic pupils, and notwithstanding Lord Elcho's account of his own school-days in the last chapter, no doubt in some de-

nearly about the same time as Dr. Burton was elected at Winchester, left a school of four hundred boys. At Westminster, in 1727, there were four hundred and thirty-four. The fee paid to Dr. Bland, Head-master of Eton in 1725, was £2 2s. for the half year. In 1690, a pupil paid Dr. Busby for a year's tuition, £4 6s.—"*Etoniana*," pp. 64, 66; "*Public Schools*," 116, 117.

gree checked the licence which had prevailed before. This, however, only provided for one, and that the least numerous, class of commoners. If his programme was to be carried out, provision for a far larger number of boys belonging to the middle classes must also be made.

It should here be noticed, that although many pupils had simply lived in lodgings in the town, that had not been the case with all. Something like a boarding-house had been in use, even as early as the times of Elizabeth. The reader has already heard that when the Founder acquired the land upon which he proposed to build his college, he obtained a royal order permitting him to appropriate about a rod of land belonging to the "Sustern Spytal^g;" on which rod of land the Warden's stables were built. This Sustern Spytal is a place of more interest than many of my readers may be aware of; inasmuch as it was not only the site of Old Commoners, but to a great extent Old Commoners itself.

Ancient documents prove that, even before the Conquest, the population of Winchester had extended beyond the city walls. The brethren of St. Swithin's, to whom the land outside the King's-gate chiefly belonged, were careful in providing for the wants of their tenants in that neighbourhood. With this view they established an almonry for certain sisters, whose office it was to visit and nurse the sick. It is not known when the hospital was built. Not improbably it was in existence even in Saxon times; though in that case every trace of the original work

^g It should be noted that, although it has been the fashion with writers for some time past to call the Almonry the "Sustern Spytal," in Wykeham's time and previously, it is always written "Sistern or System" (that is, the "Sisters'" "Hospital.")

must have disappeared long before Dr. Burton's time. The number of these sisters seems to have been sometimes fifteen and sometimes seventeen, and they received five shillings and sevenpence each every quarter. They resided together with a chaplain, who was the head of the Almonry, in the hospital buildings. As has been already mentioned, Wykeham left them in his will the sum of four shillings each, "*ad orandum pro animâ ejus.*"

This establishment was surrendered, along with their other possessions, by the brethren of St. Swithin, on the fourteenth of November, 1539. Thereupon the old Almonry buildings became the property of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, who took the place of the Priory of St. Swithin^h. The buildings consisted of (1.) the old Susterne chapel, which adjoined the college workshops on the N.W. corner of the outer, or Warden's court; (2.) Of a warehouse and some outbuildings abutting on this chapel, at its western corner; (3.) Of the Spytal itself, a building running parallel to the chapel at a distance of about thirty yards from it, with a garden lying between the two. Having no use for these tenements, the Dean and Chapter were willing to let them to any tenants who offered themselves.

The old chapel was let to one Friar, a barber in the Soke, who converted it into a dwelling-house, by taking off the roof and adding two upper storeys. From the small amount of rent paid by him, it is probable that these works were executed at his cost. After his time it passed into the possession of a suc-

^h The most ancient part of Old Commoners was "Conduit Gallery." Its massive flint walls, and three embayed windows, closely resembled the old buildings of St. Cross, which were the work of Cardinal Beaufort. They were probably of the same date.

cession of tenants, some of whom were Fellows, or Hostiarii, of the college, and who rented it either as a private residence, or as a lodging-house in which to receive boarders. The Old Commoner who remembers the interior of this house, known in his day as "*Wickham's*¹," its narrow, spiral staircase, its cumbersome timber-work, and curiously constructed landing-places, will have no difficulty in believing its interior to have been re-arranged three centuries ago.

The portion of the structure which has been described as the *Spytal* itself, running parallel with the chapel, did not require any great expenditure to render it fit for use as a private residence. It was leased to various tenants², many of whom were Fellows, Head-masters, or Hostiarii, or sometimes Stewards of the college; and it cannot be doubted that the purpose for which they rented it was, in most instances, the accommodation of pupils. Occasionally, however, both houses passed into the occupation of persons who were wholly unconnected with the college; and possibly the strange fluctuations observable in the number of the Commoners at various intervals, may be due to the opening or closing of these boarding-houses.

Dr. Burton resolved to reduce this confused and desultory system to order; and being a man of large private means, he was able, to a great extent, to carry out his idea. He took a lease, not only of the *Spytal*, but of the third building, the warehouse adjoining the *Spytal* chapel, and the land running southwards behind it towards the Fellows' stables.

He pulled down the warehouse, and on its site

¹ Mr. Wickham, the College medical attendant, after whom it was called "*Wickham's*," tenanted it for a few years, at the end of the last century.

² For a list of these, see Appendix.

built the house subsequently occupied by Head-masters until Dr. Moberly's time,—together with a long narrow gallery, of two storeys, and a cloister communicating with it at right angles at its north-west corner, which received the name of "Cloister Gallery." This latter, when it reached the south-west corner, immediately opposite the old Spytal, was returned again at a right angle, until it joined the western wall of the latter^k.

A court was thus formed about 100 feet square, beyond which the boys could only make their exit by the Head-master's permission,—thus cutting off altogether the opportunity of indulging in the pranks which had distinguished the school-days of Peregrine Pickle and his associates. It should be added, that the old kitchen and offices adjoining, which had run parallel with the college building at the south-east corner of the Spytal, had been pulled down (with the exception of the massive eastern wall, in which the fire-places were inserted) long before Burton's time. On their former site a hall, for the daily use of the boys at meals, &c. was erected. The old boundary-wall of the Spytal, also running east and west (which was not square with the southern end of Commoner Hall^l), was retained, and in it was inserted the gate, giving access to the college.

^k I doubt, however, whether the door of communication between the old Spytal and Cloister Gallery was made in Burton's time. It would seem that the two houses were under separate masters. Dr. Wooll says, when Dr. Warton was elected Hostiarus, "he had the advantage of a boarding-house:" and again of "the *boarding-houses* being filled" on his election as Head-master.—Wooll, vol. i. pp. 30, 46.

^l Some Commoners, at all events, will remember the hollow space between these two walls (which was considerable at the south-west corner), and the hole that had been broken through the brickwork behind some of the toys, whereby the narrow vault became occasionally the receptacle of illicit articles.

The building thus put together, as it were, was heterogeneous enough, as well as bizarre in appearance. Doubtless, Dr. Burton would have preferred an uniform quadrangular structure, in the same style as Cloister Gallery; and in respect of internal accommodation it would have been preferable, though far less picturesque. But it is probable that he could not at that time obtain possession of the house, known subsequently as "Wickham's;" and besides, the work was costly enough, even as it was, for one man's pocket. The change, on the whole, was undoubtedly for the better. There was a provision made for the boys to take their meals together at one common table, instead of being permitted to indulge their fancies in this respect, and vie with each other in extravagance. There was a sufficient number of chambers and a common playground, subject to the immediate control of the Masters, in place of the anomalous system which had previously prevailed. The Doctor also, it is to be presumed, devised a form of government, resembling, in its general idea, that set up by Wykeham three centuries and a-half before in college. But there were some strange and capricious variations from this, and many of its more important features were, of necessity, wanting. The juniors were not placed, individually, under the special authority and protection of the Præfects; and the bed-chambers were not, each of them, in a single Præfect's charge. The Præfects, indeed, were but eight in number^m, and there were more than twenty chambers. The Præfectorial authority, therefore, did not come home to every

^m There were also four "Senior Inferiors,"—I presume instituted by Burton. Respecting them, see Chap. xi.

individual inferior, as it did in college, and the Præfects, on their side, had not the same sense of responsibility.

Again, there were no grades, or offices, among the Commoner Præfects. In college (as the reader learned in Chap. iii.) there was the distinction of "Præfects in full power" and "Præfects not in full power;" and among the first-named were five appointed to posts of especial trust, which brought them into frequent communication with the Masters, and added to their prestige in the eyes of their school-fellows. Placed above all his school-fellows was the "Præfect of Hall," whose authority in any critical matter over-rode that of all the others. In Commoners there was nothing like this. Even the Senior Præfect had but a sort of primacy, due only to the accident of his position.

The system of faggingⁿ, too, was different. In college, those only were exempt from it who had been a long time in the school. Even those near the top of "Senior Part of the Fifth," the next form to that of the Præfects, were liable to be fagged, like any Fourth Book boys, if they were comparatively new comers^o. But in Commoners, the whole of Senior Part, amounting perhaps to upwards of thirty boys, were their own masters; and, unless they personally affronted the Præfects, or broke the rules of the school, were independent of their authority.

In short, there were but two orders in college, Præfects and Inferiors, the masters and the servants. But in Commoners there were three; and, just as

ⁿ On this subject I shall speak more at length in Chapter xxi.

^o The Senior Inferior alone was an exception, as he might any day be made a Præfect.

in other institutions, the middle-class exercised a very powerful influence over public opinion. The importance of this distinction will be seen, when the relative numbers of Præfects and Inferiors in the two divisions of the school are taken into consideration. In college there were eighteen Præfects to fifty-two Inferiors. Considering that the first-named class consisted of lads mostly seventeen and eighteen years old, and the great mass of the others were two or three years younger, while many of them were mere children, it is obvious that, in the event of any quarrel breaking out between the two orders, the Inferiors would inevitably be over-matched^p. It was otherwise in Commoners. There the Præfects were eight only in number, as opposed to one hundred and twenty-two Inferiors; and in Senior Part of the Fifth, boys could generally be found fully equal in size, strength, and spirit, to any in Sixth Book. It often happened that the Præfects were unable to cope with those under their authority, in respect of bodily strength; and when to this was added (as was occasionally the case), that the highest class contained no single boy whose physique or moral character rendered him formidable in the eyes of his school-fellows, a strain was put on the system which it was ill able to bear. An attempt to resist the authority of the Præfects in college is (so far as my knowledge extends) a thing unheard of. In Commoners it occurred more than once within my cognisance, and would probably have occurred much oftener, had it not been for the example of unwavering obedience maintained in college; as a rickety semi-detached

^p See Chapter xi., where an *émeute* did take place of the kind here spoken of. There was something of the same kind in 1836 also.

house is sometimes held up by the strength of its more solid neighbour.

Again, the College-boys were provided with their Meads—a playing-field, which, if not large enough according to more modern ideas to furnish room for the sports of seventy boys, at least allowed of nearly all of them being engaged at the same time at cricket, fives, or some other outdoor sport. But for Commoners there was nothing of this kind. They were shut up in the court-yard described above throughout the entire day, except for one single hour, when they were permitted to go to a field, rented for their use, a quarter-of-a-mile or so distant. These differences naturally produced their effect on the habits and tempers of the two divisions of the school. The college junior's life, so far as my observation extended, was healthier and happier than that of his Commoner school-fellow; and that notwithstanding that in College there were but five fags for every two masters, and in Commoners there were nearly eight for every one¹.

But it would be unfair to blame Dr. Burton for these defects in his institution. He had not the legislative wisdom of Wykeham, to be sure; but how many men in a generation do possess it? Nor could he have created altogether the same system in Commoners which prevailed in college, without clashing inconveniently and, perhaps, perilously with the latter. Again, he was not possessed of the great Bishop's princely revenues, and lofty station, and architectural science, which enabled him to execute

¹ I do not mean to assert that the life of a College-boy was not often a very severe one. His work was heavy and, under a tyrannical Præfect, wretched enough. But supposing the Præfects equally kind or equally unkind, I think his lot was the preferable one. See further, Chap. xxi.

projects impossible to ordinary men. Nor could Dr. Burton have provided his Commoners with a playing-field at all approaching in size to Meads, and immediately adjoining his newly-erected building, let him expend what money he would. Honour and gratitude are due to him from all Wykehanists, and especially all Commoners; for without his munificent help, the education of Commoners must have been altogether discontinued.

At his death he made over the lease of the ground, which he had obtained from the Dean and Chapter, to the college, as a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰετ*^r. This was not by any means the only instance of his liberality. In conjunction with the Reverend E. Fox, he founded the Fox and Burton exhibitions, of £30 a-year each, for superannuate scholars. The painting by Le Moine, of the Annunciation, purchased abroad for ninety guineas, was also his gift.

He resigned the Head-mastership in 1766, being then in his 76th year. He lived for six years afterwards; but in the winter of 1772 he was seized with paralysis, and died on the 24th of January in the following year. He was carried round the quadrangle, and buried in the Ante-chapel, where a monument with a Latin inscription was placed to his memory by his nephew. It has recently been removed to the Cloisters.

^r The instrument by which this was made over to the college being found informal, the lease became the property of Dr. Burton's nephew and heir, Mr. Smythe. He, however, conveyed it to the college by deed-of-gift.

CHAPTER VIII.

DR. WARTON.

DR. BURTON resigned the Head-mastership, as the reader has heard, in 1766, and was succeeded in it by Dr. Joseph Warton, a man of greater celebrity, as regards his general reputation, than any other who has filled that station. He holds an undoubted place among the minor English poets. He was the friend of Reynolds, Collins, and Johnson, all of whom accounted his friendship an honour. The last-named treated him with marked respect, notwithstanding that he is said to have administered to the conversational autocrat of the day the only rebuke which seems fairly to have set him down^a. When the celebrated round-robin was presented to him, in which the epitaph on Goldsmith was objected to on the ground of the language in which it had been written, Burke's and Warton's names appear to have been the only two to which the great Doctor attached any weight. Warton's "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope" was the most successful composition of its day, and has exercised a marked influence on critical literature. But the renown which attaches to him, is connected only

^a "The disagreement occurred at the house of Sir J. Reynolds, as I am told by one of the company, who only overheard the following conclusion of the dispute: *Johnson*.—Sir, I am not accustomed to be contradicted. *Warton*.—Better for yourself and friends, Sir, if you were; our admiration for you could not be increased, but our love might."—*Wooll's Life of Warton*, vol. i. p. 98. It might be supposed, remarks Mr. Collins, that a man who could rebuke Johnson, could at least govern schoolboys. The remark is strange from so able a writer: the readiness which can administer a successful retort, and the firm consistency which alone can impress boys, are very different qualities.

with his writings. Notwithstanding his amiability of temper, and a considerable aptitude for teaching, he was not fitted to be a schoolmaster.

He was born in 1722, and was the eldest son of the Reverend Thomas Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and afterwards Vicar of Basingstoke; a man of considerable taste and ability^b. By him, Joseph, and his more celebrated younger brother, Thomas, were educated, until the former reached the age of fourteen; when, after a short stay at New College school in Oxford, he was admitted as a Scholar at Winchester College, where he first went in August, 1736. Here he fell in with William Collins, the poet, his senior in age by a few months only, but his predecessor in the school by fully three years. A friendship was formed between them, which lasted to the end of Collins' unhappy life. While at Winchester the two friends, in conjunction with a third boy, sent to the "Gentleman's Magazine" three poems of sufficient excellence to draw from Dr. Johnson a very favourable criticism. Wooll also reports that he had perused a very humorous piece, written when Warton was a Præfect, and spoken by one of his pupils from the rostrum; which, it appears, was introduced into the Great School, as it had formerly been into Seventh Chamber.

In 1740, both he and Collins stood high on the roll for admission to New College, but neither succeeded in obtaining a vacancy. Warton matriculated at Oriel, and resided till the spring of 1744; when he took his B.A. degree, and soon afterwards entered orders, serving his father's curacy until 1746;

^b After his death, in 1745, a volume of his poems was published by subscription, edited by his son Joseph, who also wrote an elegy on his death.

when he removed to Chelsea, and soon afterwards to Chawton and Droxford. In 1748, he was presented by the Duke of Bolton to the Rectory of Winslade, worth about £150 a-year, with a population of little more than one hundred. Small as this preferment was, he immediately availed himself of it to marry Miss Daman, a lady residing in his own neighbourhood. He was now obliged to use his pen to eke out an income, which the prospect of a family rendered insufficient. He had already published, in 1746, an "Ode on Superstition," and another small collection of pieces. In 1749 appeared his "Ode" to Mr. West. About this time also he addressed himself to a more important undertaking, which occupied him fully four years. This was his "Translation of the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil into English Verse," accompanied by an annotated edition of the Latin text of his author. Included in the same work was the translation of the *Æneid* by Pitt; the Essay of Warburton, on the sixth book of the *Æneid*; of Whitehead, on the shield of *Æneas*; of Atterbury, on the character of *Iapis*; and three essays of his own, on pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry. It appeared in 1753.

This work attracted considerable notice in the literary world. The University of Oxford granted its author an honorary M.A. degree; he was invited to contribute to the "Adventurer," a periodical of high repute: and he was also presented to the Rectory of Tunworth, a living of about the same value and amount of population as Winslade, and lying almost close to it. It is probable also that the celebrity he had acquired by this book, induced the Warden and Fellows of Winchester to elect him

to the post of Hostiarius, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Samuel Speed^c, in the year 1755. This he held for eleven years, residing it would seem in Sustern House, one of the lodging-houses used for the reception of Commoners. During the period of his Second Mastership, his pen was not idle. In 1754, he contributed some juvenile poems to Dodsley's collection; and in 1762 there appeared the first volume of his great work, his "Essay on Pope."

In 1766 Dr. Burton at last retired, and Warton was chosen to fill his place, remaining in it until 1793; when in his seventy-first year he made way for Dr. Goddard. The opinions expressed of him as Head-master by his pupils vary, of course, in some degree, according to their personal tastes and fancies. But the same character is to be traced, more or less distinctly, in every description. "He was a man of mild and kindly temper, free, open, and cheerful to his friends," writes his pupil, Dr. Wooll, "without rigour or sullen severity to those he disliked. In his general character he could never deserve, and seldom incur, enmity. A playful liveliness, even on the most dry and didactic subjects, divested him of the smallest appearance of that pedantry which is too apt to attach itself to scholars by profession. None could leave his society without improvement, yet never was a man found

^c "Mr. Speed," says Wooll, "was a truly pious, learned, and benevolent man," who died Nov. 5, 1775. Dr. Burton had long been inclined to resign his situation, could he have secured the Head-mastership for Mr. Speed; but parties at that time ran high. Speed was a Whig, and a friend of Bishop Hoadley. The Visitor and the College were at variance, and Mr. Speed in consequence not very popular with the latter. Dr. Burton therefore, unable to carry his point, remained; Mr. Speed retired, and was succeeded by Warton.—Wooll's Life of Warton, vol. i. p. 30.

who was oppressed by his superiority. The charm of ease and unaffected good humour prevented every feeling of inequality, every jealousy of receiving instruction." "I think I may venture to say," remarks Bishop Mant, more simply, "that there never was a man in his situation more universally beloved than the late Head-master of Winchester." He expresses the same sentiment in the poem he addressed to Warton:—

"For well was Warton loved, and well deserved,
Whether he led the faltering step of youth,
To offer incense at the Muses' shrine,
Or, justly stern, checked with forbidding frown
Impetuous vice, or with approving smile
Cherished the hope of Virtue's modest bud."

Mant's Ode to Warton.

To the same effect speak many others; nor am I aware of any one who has disputed their verdict.

Again, he had a profound appreciation of the genius of the great authors, whose works he handled; and he possessed the power of awakening in the bosoms of others, the sentiments by which he was himself animated. One of his pupils speaks of the delight with which the boys were wont to listen to the expositions of his favourite writers. The compositions of his scholars attained an extraordinary degree of excellence; whence it was said of him, that he had made the school "a cage of singing birds." The Quarterly Reviewer describes it as "a school of poets,"—Crowe (author of Lewesdon Hill), Lisle Bowles, Huddesford (the composer of the "Wykehamical Chaplet)," Alcock, Lowth, Cumming, Grattan, Holmes, Penrose, Blackstone; all of them University Prizemen, were among his pupils.

Yet, notwithstanding these amiable and valuable qualities, the school did not thrive under him. "He was inconsistent in his plans, and deficient in moral courage," writes one of his biographers, "often conceding points of discipline, where he ought to have been inflexible." The natural result was insubordination, disorder, and general discomfort. He seems to have been unable to preserve anything like discipline among the boys. Bishop Burgess, who left in 1775, relates that once, during a disturbance in school, he actually saw a Latin Dictionary thrown at Dr. Warton's head. On another, it is recorded that his brother, Thomas Warton, was helping the boys to cook some viands which had been surreptitiously introduced into the college, when the step of the Head-master was heard in the passage outside; the whole party straightway hid themselves, and the angry Doctor, after a search, drew out his brother from the corner, where he had concealed himself! Nothing but a remonstrance, which had no practical effect, seems to have come of it. In the same manner, "Tom" was, we are told, continually in the habit of doing the boys' exercises for them, and endeavoured to conceal his delinquencies, by introducing such faults into the compositions as the boys themselves would be likely to make^d.

^d On one of these occasions, it is recorded that when he asked the boy whose verses he was going to compose for him, his usual question, "How many mistakes?" the lad, though a very bad scholar, was rash enough to answer, "None." The verses were done, and sent in. But the Head-master at once suspected the truth, and sent for his brother. "Here, 'Tom,'" he said, "only look at this boy's verses; they are well worth five shillings. So we will each give him half-a-crown!" Tom paid the money, and for the future, if he did not altogether abstain from rendering illicit help, was at all events more circumspect in his mode of rendering it.

It is little wonder that under such a *régime* as this, there was neither law nor order.

Again, exquisite as was his taste, and extensive as was his knowledge, the inaccuracy of his scholarship—inaccurate even for those times—was a serious obstacle to his success in teaching. He did not care to study the precise force of a word, or the grammar of an involved sentence. In fact, he held philological criticism cheap, and no man can be a scholar who does so. Though he could render a fine passage in Homer or Æschylus admirably into English he was often unable to construe grammatically a difficult construction; and was obliged, if any such occurred in the course of the lesson, to resort to all sorts of shifts, to conceal his embarrassment. The boys were keenly alive to this; who ever succeeded in hoodwinking *them*? Bishop Burges relates that when Warton came to a passage of unusual obscurity in a Greek Chorus, he would allow the boy who was construing to get through it in the best way he could, while he appeared to have his own attention distracted by an unusual noise in school, and would raise his voice, and order the Ostiarius to stop it; though (as the Bishop adds) “it seemed to others no more than ordinary.” Another of his episcopal pupils, Huntingford^e, who was probably even then

^e George Isaac Huntingford, Warden of Winchester for more than forty years. He was born in 1748, and was made Warden in 1789; Bishop of Gloucester, 1802, of Hereford, 1815; died, April 29, 1832. He was an assistant-master when Henry Adington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, was a boy in Commoners; the latter became his pupil, and “a friendship,” says Dean Pellew, “sprang up between them, most unusual in parties occupying their relative position, and, at the same time, highly honourable to them both. It continued uninterrupted until the death of Huntingford in 1832. Huntingford’s correspondence during that whole period of sixty-four years, breathed a spirit of devoted attachment, almost surpassing that of a parent. The

a better scholar than his master, was wont jestingly to predict, when they were approaching a stiff bit in the lesson, that the Doctor would, all of a sudden, find the noise overpowering. A fellow-feeling, probably, induced him to overlook what might have been similar stratagems on the part of his pupils. A boy would sometimes, instead of construing a passage, recite the paraphrase of some translator, or imitator; and Warton not only allowed it to pass, but would express his approval.

Trials of a very different description from these school-troubles, overtook him not many years after his succession to the Head-mastership. In 1772, he lost the wife to whom he had been devotedly attached; and some fourteen years afterwards, he suffered a blow almost as severe, in the loss of his second son—a Fellow of New College, and scholar of the highest promise—who was found dead in his arm-chair, by the Doctor, on his return one afternoon from the college chapel. In the year after Mrs. Warton's death, he endeavoured to repair his loss, marrying Miss Nicolas, a descendant of the Warden who in 1697 built the large school-room. Few men seem to have been happier in domestic life than Warton. "Both his wives," says Wooll, "were most amiable and good women."

advice of such a man was of incalculable value to his youthful friend, his sole object being to instil into his mind noble and generous principles."—*Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth.*

In 1862, the Warden and Fellows erected a monument to his memory, the inscription on which will be found in the Appendix. All who remember him, will agree in the appreciation of his learning and integrity, the excellence of his character, and the goodness of his heart. The part he took in the unfortunate events described later in this chapter, and in chap. x., must be attributed to an incapacity (not uncommon in good and able men) to understand and deal with boys.

In 1778, George III. and his queen, who were making a round of inspections of the summer encampments of the soldiers, came to Winchester, and honoured the college with a visit. A Latin address^f was spoken by the Senior Præfect, Chamberlayne by name; and another in English by Lord Shaftesbury. The king left one hundred guineas to be distributed between the three Senior Præfects. It is possible that it was in consequence of this royal notice, that the preferment which had not hitherto visited Dr. Warton, except in the shape of two very small country livings, now flowed in abundantly. In 1782, a prebend of St. Paul's was bestowed on him, and soon after, in the same year, the rectory of Wickham; six years afterwards, he was presented by the Crown to a prebendal stall at Winchester, and soon afterwards, by Bishop North, to the rectory of Easton, which he exchanged for Upham.

The value of these benefices, which together exceeded £2,000 a-year, was sufficient to ensure him every comfort, and every luxury which he could desire for his closing years. It is unfortunate that he did not immediately retire from the Head-mastership, a post for which he was never very well qualified, but which the increasing infirmities of age had rendered especially unsuitable for him. He did give notice, in the spring, of his intention to resign after the election; but before that arrived, an event oc-

^f The Latin of this address is extremely good, and if it is Dr. Warton's composition, goes to prove that the allegations made against his scholarship in this particular are unfounded. But both Bishop Mant and Dr. Gabell insist on it that it was written by Thomas Warton. Dr. Wooll assures us that he has "indisputable proof" to the contrary. But he does not say what this proof is; and it would be certainly strange if Gabell, who entered college soon after the royal visit, should be mistaken on the point.

curred, which rendered the severance of his connection with the college unusually painful. This was "the rebellion of 1793," as it is usually styled,—the most formidable outbreak of the kind on record. Warton, to all appearance, had nothing to do with the matter which more immediately occasioned it. But it cannot be doubted that the low state of discipline, which his unwise laxity had brought about, lay at the bottom of the mischief. Two accounts of this affair have been drawn up,—one by the Warden and Fellows, giving an official report of the occurrences; the other by the boys. Mr. Collins, in his "Public Schools," has published the latter almost *in extenso*. By the kindness of the Warden of New College, I have been permitted to peruse the former also, which is in New College Library. From a comparison of the two, it is possible to draw up a very complete account of what took place.

It appears that the band of the Bucks militia was in the habit of playing in the Cathedral Close on certain days; and a good many of the boys repaired thither to hear the music. The close has always been out of school bounds; and either for this, or some other reason, the Warden gave notice that any boy who should be seen there, would be deprived of his "leave out" on the Easter Day ensuing. "If *one* individual is peccant," wrote the Warden, "*he* shall be severely punished; but if *numbers* are seen, the whole school shall be punished, by being refused leave to dine with their friends" (on Easter Day).

Soon afterwards the Hostiarius, Mr. Goddard, encountered in the close one of the Præfects, who was there in defiance of the order, and he reported the fact to the Warden. The latter punished, not the delinquent only, as he had threatened, but the whole

school, by forbidding altogether the "leave out" on Easter Day. He assigned as his reason the well-known line,—

"Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

The "Achivi," not perceiving the applicability of the quotation to them, held a meeting, and the forty seniors bound themselves by an oath to stand by each other, whatever might happen. They then wrote a short Latin letter to the Warden, signed, "alumni omnes." It was respectfully worded, but represented the hardship of making all answerable for the fault of one, more particularly as the Warden's first manifesto had declared all were to be punished only in event of *many* having transgressed. "They had," they said, "implicitly obeyed the Warden; but hoped that, in future, he would act differently."

This was a questionable proceeding; but thus far the right was, no doubt, on the side of the boys; and it amounts almost to a confession of this, that all these circumstances are entirely passed over in the memorandum of the Warden and Fellows. It simply says, "for reasons which the Warden thought sufficient," he refused the "leave out" on Easter Sunday; in consequence of which, "on the evening of Monday, April 1, a Latin epistle was sent to the Warden."

To this the boys declare that they received no reply at all for three days; but the Warden's Report says that he did send an immediate answer, through Dr. Warton, telling the boys that their proceeding, in sending their Warden a letter of remonstrance, was a most improper one.

Probably these two accounts are to be reconciled,

by supposing that the boys did not regard the easy mode in which, in all likelihood, Dr. Warton slurred over the matter, as any reply at all. Any way, on the following day they sent a second Latin letter, worded respectfully like the former one, and pressing for an answer.

To this the Warden *did* reply, and the terms of his letter are the same in both Reports:—"If the scholars are so forgetful of their rank and good manners," he wrote, "as to insult their Warden by letters of consummate arrogance and extreme petulance, the Warden can give no other answer, than that he shall continue to refuse all indulgence, till the scholars behave more properly."

This answer was ill-advised. The boys felt that they had been punished, in the first instance, without having committed any offence; and charged with "arrogance," in the second, when they had written temperately and respectfully. No doubt they would have done better to submit; but there were some very determined spirits among them—a fact to which some of the sternest of the Peninsular battle-fields afterwards bore witness^g—and they resolved to force the Warden to do them justice. Their first step was to send messages to both the Masters, telling them "that they would not trouble them to go into

^g Lord Seaton and Sir Lionel Smith were among the College-boys expelled. Sir R. Wilson, Sir A. Barnard, Sir C. Dalbiac, Sir A. Woodford, and Sir W. Myers, were all in Commoners at the time. But the extent to which Commoners took part in this outbreak is not very clearly stated. They could not very well have shared the original grievance, not being under the Warden's orders; nor did any of them participate in the oath taken by the forty seniors in college, but they must have joined in hooting Mr. Goddard. The dates at which many of them left the school, look very much as though they had been expelled along with the College-boys. At this time there were not fifty boys in Commoners.

school." The intimation to Warton was accompanied by a note, containing some warm expressions of attachment. It is said, that if he had persisted in entering the school, the boys would have offered him no indignity, but would have simply walked out, two and two, into Meads ; but he was weak enough to comply with the notice sent him. Mr. Goddard had a better sense of his duty. Though he knew himself to be the object of general displeasure, he, nevertheless, presented himself in the school at the usual hour. He found the boys armed with clubs, and in a very rebellious mood ; they received him with general hissing, and, upon his commanding silence, renewed the uproar more turbulently than before. The juniors then began pelting him with marbles, and the Præfects took no steps to put the tumult down. It was useless to persist, and he withdrew.

The Warden now sent for the Præfect of Hall, and afterwards for the whole body of Præfects ; but the boys would receive no message from the Warden. As the evening advanced, they began to take more violent measures. They seized the keys of the college, wresting them from the porter ; who, in the somewhat grandiloquent language of the Report, "was forced to abscond," and who (as tradition says) was so terrified at the demeanour of the rebels, that he straightway took to his heels, and never stopped till he reached Romsey, some ten miles distant ; in memory of which feat he was ever afterwards known among the boys by the *sobriquet* of "Old Romsey." Possessed of the keys, the boys broke into Mr. Goddard's apartments, and blocked up the passage of communication between them and the Warden's lodging with scobs. Emboldened by their success, they next made an attempt on the Warden's

house, and forced their way into it,—terrifying and driving away the servants, and keeping the Warden himself, the Hostiarius, and one of the Fellows, prisoners in the dining-room all night!

In the morning the Warden left his house, and went down College-street, whither he was followed by many of the boys, armed with clubs, and assailing him with abuse. As soon as he was clear of the gate, it was secured behind him, and re-admittance refused. He was obliged to retire to Dr. Warton's house, in College-street, where he attempted to hold a college meeting; but it was necessary for this purpose to have the presence of four Fellows, and this the boys were able to prevent by keeping one of the Fellows prisoner in college. Baffled in this attempt, the Warden sent this message to the boys:—"As the minds of the scholars are much agitated, and disposed to adopt measures discreditable to the Society, the Warden thinks it advisable to give them leave of absence till April 28th; and, if Dr. Warton and Mr. Goddard approve, the scholars are desired to go home immediately." But the boys were keen enough to suspect that this was not intended in good faith^h, and declined to avail themselves of the permission.

The Warden and Fellows now resolved to apply to the magistrates for help. It chanced that the High-sheriff and some other Justices of the Peace had met at the Town-hall to draw up an address to the King; to them the Warden made his appeal. The Sheriff, thereupon, accompanied by several magistrates, went down to the college, and tried to persuade the boys to return to their obedience; but

^h Unfortunately they had only too good reason for this suspicion. See Chap. x. pp. 186, 7.

the latter had been apprised of the intended visit, and had made preparations for resistance. They had victualled the college for a regular siege, ransacking the shops for provisions; they had provided themselves with swords, guns, and bludgeons, and had mounted the red cap of liberty and equality—a curious sign of the times. When the magistrates reached the outer gate, they found it strongly barricaded; the court-yard had been unpaved, and the stones carried to the top of the tower; part of the parapet also had been loosened, to hurl on the heads of the assailants, if any attack should be attempted. Being summoned to surrender, they replied that they would burn the college to the ground rather than do so. From the character of some of the ringleaders, it is likely that they would have been as good as their word. It was, perhaps, for this reason that they were left unmolested all that day.

Those were, in truth, dangerous times. The contagion of the French Revolution had spread among the lower orders; and it was feared that if an actual encounter should take place, and especially if the military should take any part in it, the mob, which had assembled to the amount of two thousand (it was said), would side with the boys. It was thought better to employ expostulation, and make use of Dr. Warton's popularity. Accordingly, on the third day, the insurgents were induced, by his persuasion and that of one of the magistrates, to leave the matter in the Sheriff's hands, to be arranged between him and the Warden.

But the boys, with the same astuteness which they had displayed throughout, refused to deliver up the keys, or lay down their arms, until they had heard the issue of the negotiations. This was presently

transmitted to them in the following words: "The Warden promises for the future not to punish the community for the sake of an individual, and to grant a general amnesty, provided the keys are given up."

Peace seemed now to be restored. The boys gave up the keys, and went back to their duties; but it is not easy, under any circumstances, to carry into effect an amnesty after a sharp quarrel, and in this instance it was more than usually difficult. The boys had lost all respect for their Masters; while the latter felt keenly the humiliation they had undergone, and the injury which the discipline of the school had sustained. Fresh disturbances soon broke out. On the morning of Friday the 5th, the day after that on which the amnesty had been granted, the Hostiarius required that four guns, which had been taken out of his house when the boys broke into it, should be restored. The boys at first refused, on the ground that the amnesty forbade all reference to the past. But Mr. Goddard reasoned with them, and pointed out that the amnesty could not have been intended to apply to such a matter as the possession of fire-arms by the boys. They there-upon agreed to give up them, on condition of their being sent away immediately to their ownersⁱ. This was acceded to, and quiet was again renewed.

But the Warden considered that the refusal to deliver the guns in the first instance was a breach of the amnesty on the part of the boys; and, in consequence, delivered a lecture to them in the ante-chapel^k, in which he pointed out that the oath

ⁱ It would seem that these guns had been taken away, in some previous half-year, from boys who had now left the school.

^k This is, I believe, the occasion of the famous "Eloquar an sileam?" story. See Glossary, on "Settler."

they had taken to aid and abet one another, was not only a grievous offence in itself, but perjury, because they had all already taken an oath not to conspire together to the detriment of the college. He further summoned them, one by one, to his seat, and told each boy "seriously to consider whether he meant for the future to obey the rules of the college, and its officers. If they did not *ex animo* intend this, they had better at once consult their friends as to the propriety of an immediate resignation of their scholarships."

On the following day, the boys replied to the Warden, by a request contained in a Latin letter, that a copy of the Statutes might be furnished them; and that the Warden would write down, for their information, exactly what it was that he wished them to comply with. "They had not," they said, "been aware, till then, of the matters which he had laid before them on the previous day."

The Warden replied by producing the copy of the Statutes asked for; but declined to write down any specific requirements. "If any boy," he said, "was in doubt on any point, he was ready to advise him, but that was all he could consent to say." With this the boys declared themselves satisfied.

Once more things might have been smoothly arranged. But in the week which followed the concession of the amnesty, steps had been taken which were clearly a violation of it. Parents had been written to, urging them either to compel their sons to ask pardon of the authorities, or resign their scholarships. Intimations of these proceedings reached the boys, and excited their indignation. At length, on the day after the delivery of the Statutes, Dr. Budd, a physician, and father of one of the senior

boys, came to Winchester, in consequence of the Warden's letter, and told his son he must make his submission to the Warden, or resign. The boy chose the latter; and the fact was no sooner known, than the whole of Budd's school-fellows drew up another letter, and presented it to the Warden. "By a promise," they wrote, "on which we implicitly relied, a complete amnesty was granted; by which term we have always understood that no mention should be made of, or punishment exacted for, the past. The first has been repeatedly infringed, since that promise. We have been likewise witnesses of the compulsory departure of one who was culpable only in an equal degree with ourselves. . . . You cannot be ignorant in what manner we are bound. We are bound to undergo the same punishment that may be inflicted on any individual, on account of the late proceedings. On this account, we are compelled by a solemn oath to quit the college, and we are now determined to resign."

Setting aside, of course, that their whole conduct in openly refusing obedience to the authorities was *per se* blameable, this was the first false step the boys had taken. Possibly they thought that the Warden would hesitate to incur so grave a scandal and injury to the school, as would be caused by a general departure¹. But they were mistaken. The resignations were accepted; and when, on the following day, they became sensible of their error, and wished to withdraw them, their request was refused. Five-and-thirty boys were obliged to leave the school.

¹ Very serious injury did follow. There was no election at all in 1794, and for a long time vacancies at New College could not be filled up.

Dr. Warton must bear his share in the blame attaching to the authorities in this affair. It is said that he opposed a proposition, made at the outset, to expel forty boys; and no one doubts that, if the settlement of the matter had rested with him, the extreme measures which followed would not have been adopted^m. But his weakness and incapacity throughout are deplorably conspicuous. The expressions of regret with which the chamber received his resignation at the ensuing electionⁿ, cannot obliterate the painful circumstances under which he retired from the Head-mastership.

He withdrew to Upham, where he lived for nearly seven years, employing his leisure in literary work. He published, in 1797, an annotated edition of Pope's works, in nine volumes, octavo; after which he commenced a similar edition of Dryden, but only lived to complete two volumes. He died February 23,

^m When Dr. Mant—whose son (the future Bishop) was also obliged to resign—waited on Dr. Warton, the latter took him by the hand, and said, with tears in his eyes, "Dr. Mant, your son knows that he and I were always good friends; I will recommend him anywhere, and to anybody."—Berens' "Life of Mant." The Bishop himself never laid any of the blame of his expulsion on Dr. Warton.

ⁿ The Electors on his retirement sent him the following testimonial: "We, the undersigned, do in the name of the two S. Mary Winton Colleges, return thanks to the Rev. Dr. Joseph Warton, for the encouragement he has given to genius and industry; for the attention he has paid to the introduction of correct taste in composition and classical learning; and for the many and various services he has conferred on the Wiccamical Societies through the long course of years in which he has filled the place of Second and Head Master of Winchester school.

JOHN OGLANDER, D.D., Warden of New College.

GEORGE ISAAC HUNTINGFORD, Warden of Winchester College.

JAMES YALDEN, M.A., Senior Poser.

CHARLES REYNELL, LL.B., Junior Poser.

CHARLES BLACKSTONE, M.A., Sub-warden."

1800. By his own desire, his remains were conveyed to Winchester, and interred in the Cathedral, by the side of his first wife. A monument by Flaxman, with an inscription from the pen of Parr, was erected to his memory, near the south-west corner of the nave; but it does not cover his remains. It represents the Doctor, seated in his chair, instructing his scholars, with the busts of Homer and Aristotle in the background.

Dr. Warton's appearance was prepossessing. The well-known picture of him, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is said not to do him justice. There is another, a sketch by Dance, representing him in a riding-dress, which Bishop Huntingford was wont to declare to be a good likeness. The expression of the face in this is animated and intelligent.

Several of Dr. Warton's distinguished pupils have been already mentioned, as Lord Sidmouth, Bishops Burgess, Huntingford, and Mant, Lord Seaton, &c. To these should be added, Archbishop Howley, Bishops Butson and Maltby, Sir R. Keats, Bowles the poet, Sydney Smith, John Lempriere, and President Ingram.

CHAPTER IX.

DR. GODDARD.

WILLIAM STANLEY GODDARD, with whom we have next to deal, was born at St. Dunstan's, Stepney, A.D. 1757. He was the son of John Goddard^a, described as "gentleman" in the books of Merton College, Oxford, and "merchant" in those at Winchester. In the earlier part of his life we may conclude that the father was in good circumstances, as he was on the point of sending his son, at that time a lad of ten or twelve, as a Commoner to Winchester, when he was suddenly and completely ruined by the failure of a mercantile house in the city. No provision was left for the lad's education; but it happened, fortunately for him, that one of his father's city friends was the brother of Mr. Thomas Collins^b, at that time Hostiarius of Winchester College. It was probably through him that application had already been made to Dr. Warton, to receive young Goddard into his boarding-house. Mr. Collins now wrote a second letter to his brother,

^a His father and mother both survived to see their son attain the dignity of Head-master of Winchester College. His father died, January, 1795; his mother, Elizabeth, January, 1798.

^b The Rev. Thomas Collins, Fellow of New College, and Dr. Warton's successor as Hostiarius. Of him Dr. Wooll writes in the most eulogistic terms. "To a noble spirit," he says, "and a mind superior to every selfish consideration, Mr. Collins added, in the highest degree, Christian charity and profound erudition. Among the numerous Wykehamical characters that at this day fill respectable situations in society, many are there who owe their literary existence to the munificence of Mr. Collins. He died at Bath, aged seventy-five."—Wooll's *Life of Warton*, vol. i. p. 46.

which so moved the worthy man's compassion, that he requested that the lad might straightway be sent to him. It is believed that he, in the first instance, obtained for his *protégé* a nomination to a choristership. Mr. Sissmore^c was wont to relate how he once saw young Goddard in a chorister's dress carrying the "batlings" down the hall stairs. Feeling, however, that this menial situation did not befit the boy's parentage, Mr. Collins took him into his own house^d, and exerted himself in his behalf so zealously, that in 1771 he obtained a nomination for him to the college.

Here he remained until 1776, and was evidently one of Dr. Warton's most brilliant pupils; competing for the palm with Bishops Burgess and Stuart, Lord Sidmouth and Admiral Keats. A copy of Latin verses, perhaps an Easter, but more probably a medal, task on "Macbethus," is still preserved in the "old Compos Book^e" at Winchester, and shews considerable ability in Latin verse composition. It was probably in this department that he more especially excelled; since it was in Latin alcaics that he elected to write his elegy on Dr. Warton, A.D. 1800, which was published in a collection preserved in the Bodleian Library, and also by Dr. Wooll in his Life

^c For many years Senior Fellow. He died, aged more than ninety, in 1851.

^d That is, in all likelihood, into the Hostiarius's house in college; at the back of which Dr. Burton, early in his Head-mastership, had built a number of rooms for the reception of his pupils, (see Chap. vii. p. 124.) There is tolerably clear evidence that Warton, when Second Master, resided in the Sustain Spytal, used as a boarding-house for Commoners, and it would seem that Mr. Speed, and others before him, did the same; the Head-master living in the apartments in college, assigned by Wykeham to both masters. But the Head-masters after Burton lived in the house in College-street, and the Hostiarii in college. There is at least clear proof, further on in this Chapter, that Dr. Goddard, and in Chap. x. that Dr. Williams, did so.

^e See Chap. xix.

of Warton^f. Dr. Goddard had good reason to speak, as he does, of Warton's,—

“Cordis aperti larga benignitas^g,”

if the story told about him is true, that on one occasion he was so delighted with one of William Goddard's verse-tasks, (or more probably vulgusses), that he presented him with a guinea for every word it contained! It is well known that Joseph Warton was in the habit of expressing his approbation of any unusually successful performance after this fashion^h; and possibly his knowledge of William Goddard's narrow circumstances might have induced him to be more than usually liberal in his instance, as a delicate mode of rendering him pecuniary help. But unless the exercise was an unusually short, as well as clever, one, the story can hardly be received. It is most probable that the imaginative powers of successive generations of boys have magnified the amount of the honorarium bestowed, until it has reached dimensions which bear no more proportion to the reality than the armour of Glaucus did to that of Diomed.

Notwithstanding his talent and industry, young Goddard failed, as we have seen so many of equal worth before him fail, to attain the desired haven of New College. He was superannuate at the election of 1776, and matriculated as a Commoner of Merton College, Oxford, in the December of that year. I have been unable to learn any particulars of his life at Oxfordⁱ, “except,” writes Mr. Thomas

^f Wooll's *Life of Dr. Warton*, vol. i. p. 191.

^g In *Obitum Wartonii*, line 78.

^h See Chap. viii. p. 139 n. Dr. Gabell would occasionally, though rarely, present a boy with a much more moderate *douceur*, viz. half-a-crown, for any successful composition.

ⁱ In those days there were but few opportunities whereby

Collins, "that his behaviour there, as well as at Winchester, was uniformly such, as to secure him the notice and esteem of those with whom he was connected." He surmounted his examination for B.A., (not a very arduous one in those days), and took his degree February 27, 1781. It is probable that he had kept up a correspondence with his friends at Winchester, for he returned there as Commoner Tutor almost immediately after putting on his Bachelor's gown. Three years afterwards, at the early age of twenty-seven, he was appointed Hostiarius, in the place of his friend Mr. Thomas Collins, who had resigned.

Some time previously to this, he had become engaged to Miss Henrietta Gale, daughter of Thomas Gale, Esq., of Andover^j, and the marriage was celebrated soon after his election. There is a letter still extant, written to the lady by Mr. Collins in the curious style of the day, in which he gives a brief account of Mr. Goddard's career. "I being," he says, "the only person in this part of the world that hath any certain knowledge of his connections, and being anxious to give you such satisfaction in respect of him, as your connection with him and my real regard for you both seem to me to require. . . . I take great pride and satisfaction in sending you this account, because it was always my wish to do him every possible service; and I beg very

undergraduates might attain distinction. The Honour Schools were not instituted till thirty years afterwards. There were as yet no University Scholarships, or competitive examinations of any kind. There were the three Chancellor's medals for English verse, Latin verse, and English prose. The last-named prize was carried off in 1779 and 1780, by Lord Sidmouth and Bishop Burgess, Goddard's contemporaries at Winchester.

^j This lady died July 20, 1830, and is buried near her husband.

sincerely to congratulate you on your approaching connection with so valuable a character."

He now settled down to his work as Hostiarius, which he continued to perform for nine years. It is probable that this part of his life was by no means the most pleasant. The discipline during the latter years of Dr. Warton became very lax, and the natural result of such laxity ensued, lawless tyranny, and the derangement of the provisions made for the comfort of the boys; nor can any subordinate, however able an administrator he may be himself, abate the evils caused by the faults of his superiors. Some of the boys who were in college at this period, complain bitterly of the wretchedness of their lives at Winchester. Sydney Smith in particular,—who with his brother, Courtenay, entered the school at the age of twelve, some two or three years before Dr. Goddard became Hostiarius, and who remained there during the first part of his tenure of office—gives a very disagreeable picture of it during his stay. "My father suffered many years of misery there," writes his son and biographer, "years of misery and positive starvation. There never was enough provided, even of the coarsest food; and the little boys were, of course, left to fare as they could. Even in old age he used to shudder at the recollections of Winchester, and I have heard him speak with horror of the misery of the years he spent there. The whole system was one of abuse, neglect, and vice. His younger brother twice ran away, because he could not endure its hardships."

These are strong words, and coming from so popular a writer, have largely influenced public opinion. It is not unlikely that much of the prejudice enter-

tained in the last generation respecting Winchester, was due to Sydney Smith's representations; but they must be received *cum grano*^k. In the first place, the two Smiths, by their own confession, were "extremely overbearing and intolerable boys." Such as these (as Mr. Collins justly remarks), are not likely to find a public school a bed of roses. Further, it appears that the younger Smith had run up debts to the amount of thirty pounds, which he was unable to pay, and this previously to his running away from school. Possibly this had as much to do with his flight, as the short commons and the rough usage he complains of. Any way, Sydney reached the top of the school, became Praefect of Hall, and went off to New College, having carried off every prize offered for competition; which does not sound so very miserable.

It must also be borne in mind that the state of things the Canon of St. Paul's complains of, existed in *college*, where Dr. Goddard presided; an extremely liberal-minded man, and an able administrator, so far as his opportunity extended. If things were bad there, they would be tolerably sure to be considerably worse in Commoners, under Warton's rule;

^k Sometimes, at all events, the facetious Canon was wont to draw on his imagination, when discoursing of his schoolboy-days; as, for example, when he affirmed that Archbishop Howley, when a boy, had once "kicked him down the hall staircase." The Archbishop had promoted some measure which Smith objected to, as injurious to the interests of the Canons of St. Paul's. The Canon gave a statement of the (supposed) assault, and then added, "I believe your Grace has only twice in your life been guilty of any act of violence, and it has been my peculiar misfortune that I have been the subject of both of them." The Archbishop protested that he had never committed the alleged outrage. Nor did Sydney mean that he really had, but had invented the anecdote to give point to his remonstrance.

but we have testimony quite as respectable as that of Smith, to the existence of a state of things, nearly about the same time, the very reverse of what the latter describes. Lord Sidmouth, who with *his* brother Hiley, entered Commons only a few years before Sydney Smith's election into college, seems to have been as happy at the school, as the other was wretched. The mother of the two boys, to whom they were in the habit of writing with the most affectionate unreserve, says in one of her letters to them—written, be it observed, in their first year at school, that time which boys generally find the most trying:—"I am very glad to find that my boys are so sensible of the happiness of their new situation." Lord Sidmouth, in his after life, always spoke with affectionate thankfulness of the days he spent at Winchester. So do others, as, for instance, Archbishop Howley¹, Bishop Maltby, Lisle Bowles the poet, Lord Seaton, &c., who were in college about this time.

Nevertheless, though the disorder may have been over-stated, those nine years in Goddard's life could not have been very agreeable ones. The reader has heard in the last chapter the culmination of the mischief in the rebellion of 1793, and the part which the Hostiarius took in the earlier scenes of the insurrection. He had, in loyal fulfilment of his duty as a subordinate officer, reported the breach of his Principal's orders which had fallen within his observation. This made him unpopular with the boys for the moment, especially when his resolute resistance to the

¹ Archbishop Howley gave a munificent donation to the Præfects' library; Bishop Maltby founded a prize for Greek Iambics; Lord Seaton gave £40 to the Goddard Fund; Bowles's sonnets shew a grateful reverence for his old school.

popular will came to be contrasted with the Head-master's weak and timid vacillation. But the boys, though they regarded him as an enemy, retained their respect for him—indeed, shewed him and his considerable deference and attention. It is recorded that when they broke into his house, intending to cut off the communication between that and the Warden's, they found Mrs. Goddard and Miss Gale about to dress for a party, to which they were engaged. They instantly removed their barricades, allowed them to pass to their dressing-rooms, and escorted them to the gate with the utmost politeness.

The issue of the rebellion was to leave the school nearly empty, so far at least as the upper classes were concerned. It is plain that for years the numbers in Commoners had been declining. Even in the time of Warden Lee, *circa* 1780, they had fallen to twenty-nine; probably they were not much higher at the time of the outbreak, and this fact may account for the small part which Commoners seem to have taken in it. Thus, it is probable that at the time of Dr. Warton's resignation, the total of the school was not more than sixty, and recent occurrences had given it so bad a name, that any future Head-master would find it an extremely difficult task to restore its ancient prestige. Nevertheless, Dr. Goddard undertook it, and in 1796, three years only after the rebellion, he had raised the numbers to one hundred and forty-four, while in eight years after that, the school was filled to overflowing^m.

^m There were, in 1804, 128 Commoners, and the chapel, as then arranged, would not hold more. Considering that at this time "Wickham's" was occupied by the college writing-master, and "New Room" had not yet been opened, it is a puzzle to know where all these were lodged. Hall Gallery could hardly have held more than its 45; Cloister Gallery might have been

Dr. Goddard's success—he was *Doctor* Goddard now, having taken his B.D. and D.D. degrees in 1795—is recorded by Dr. Wooll (the biographer of Dr. Warton, and Head-master of Rugby School) who had himself been a pupil of Dr. Goddard during his earlier years at Winchester. He writes of him (in 1806), as “the excellent and indefatigable Head-master of Winchester College, under whose direction the school has raised itself to its present flourishing state. The existent prosperity of the society, and the repeated success of the young menⁿ whom it has in the last ten years sent to the University, strongly mark the talents and government of those who conduct the seminary^o.”

Among the young men here mentioned, were Bishops Lipscombe and Shuttleworth, Lords Cranworth and Eversley, Lord Chancellor, and Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir William Erle, Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Inglis, Major Sherer, the author^p, Dr. Arnold, Augustus Hare, and Archdeacon Randall. By these and, indeed, by all his pupils he was greatly beloved. “An abler or a better ruler never was at Winchester,” writes Mr. Collins^q; “there was no rebellion in his reign; yet his old pupils knew

made to receive 50 or 60; still there remain 30 unaccounted for; but as Dr. Goddard had no family, they might have been lodged in his house.

ⁿ The Chancellor's prizes at Oxford were five times carried off by Wykehamists within the period named by Wooll—by Bishops Mant, Lipscombe, and Shuttleworth, in 1799, 1802, and 1803, by Atkins in 1796, and by Rathbone in 1798. It should be remembered that at this time these were the only distinctions open to Undergraduates.

^o Wooll's *Life of Warton*, vol. i. p. 196.

^p In his “*Story of a Life*,” a very vivid picture of the Winchester of his day is given. He had evidently an affectionate as well as a clear recollection of his school-days.

^q “*Public Schools*,” p. 46.

that he governed as much by appeals to their better feelings, as by the fear of punishment. He acted frequently on that assumption of a boy's truthfulness and honour, which has always been found a successful principle of government in judicious hands, and which has been, somewhat unfairly, claimed as an entirely modern notion so far as public education is concerned^{*}. Such of his old pupils as still survive, give testimony to the same effect. "We knew him," writes Lord Eversley, "to be a just, honorable, and perfectly impartial master, on whose good opinion and kind assistance every well-conducted boy might confidently rely. I gratefully remember his interfering on my behalf on one occasion, when another master was disposed to treat me with undeserved severity." Sir W. Erle and Archdeacon Randall bear similar witness at once to his ability as a teacher, his strictness as a disciplinarian, and his uniform kindness of heart.

He is, indeed, represented as having been very punctilious, not only as regarded the observance of the rules of the school, but in such matters as dress and manners, requiring the same from his pupils. He always dined at two o'clock, before going into afternoon school, and appeared afterwards in full dress, his wig perfectly powdered, his cassock, black silk stockings, and the buckles in his shoes, all in the trimmest order. But he could not abide foppery on the one hand, or neglect of ceremony on the other,

^{*} It has been, in fact, claimed for Dr. Arnold by his admirers, as having been his original and peculiar notion; they either not knowing, or forgetting, that Arnold was, throughout his boyhood, the pupil of Dr. Goddard; and that everything good and noble in his character was developed under the very system he is assumed to have invented. This fact would have justified a warmer eulogium than "the tact in managing boys, shewn by Dr. Goddard," which is all Dr. Stanley accords him.

in the instance of his pupils. One of them, who presumed to wear silk stockings and to carry an umbrella—unheard-of dandyisms in those times—greatly aroused his indignation. One day, this youth was walking through Seventh Chamber-passage, umbrella in hand, when he was suddenly charged in the rear by the Head-master, and his umbrella confiscated^s. Another, a Kentish baronet, afterwards a distinguished Member of Parliament, offended under the other head. He strenuously resisted the Doctor's order, that all his boys should take off their hats to him when he met them. Goddard had heard of this, and was equally resolved that he should comply with the regulation. One day he was riding down College-street, when he met the boy in question, evidently on his high ropes, walking towards him. The Doctor took no notice until the lad had passed him, omitting the prescribed salutation; then he turned round in his saddle:

"Here, K.," he said, "I want to speak to you."

K. came up, still unsalutant, and Goddard, raising his riding-whip, knocked off his hat with it. "That was all," he said, with a quiet smile, and rode on. K. wisely took the hint, and in after years, when a Cabinet-minister, called on the Doctor to thank him for one of the most valuable lessons he had ever received.

He had a keen insight into the characters of his pupils^t. "Rolfe, Rolfe, thou'lt be Chancellor," he

^s Dr. Keate had a similar horror of umbrellas; and Mr. Collins tells an amusing story of his having taunted some Eton boys who carried them with having "degenerated into school-girls;" whereupon they despoiled a "seminary for young ladies" of the board which adorned its front, and fixed it up over the entrance of the school-yard, where it met Keate's angry eyes next morning.

^t "He has told me many a time," writes his relation, Mr. Gale,

was wont to say to the future Lord Cranworth, when the latter would bring him a theme in which the subject had been lucidly and exhaustively treated. "Buckland, one could as soon keep a cork at the bottom of a tub of water, as you at the foot of the class," was his remark to the embryo Professor of Geology, when he had one day sent him junior for some school offence, and found him soon afterwards mounting to senior row again.

A characteristic story is told of his relations with Dr. Arnold, who was one of the senior boys towards the end of his Head-mastership. The future editor of "Thucydides" was one day set on to construe a difficult passage in his favourite author, and gave a rendering of it to which Goddard objected. Arnold ventured to advance one or two arguments in support of his view. "I see what you have been reading, Arnold; but you mistake the meaning of the authorities you quote." "I don't think I do," returned Arnold, sturdily. "Very well," said the Head-master quietly, "then go to your place, and we will have some one who will construe it my way." When school was up the Doctor retired to his library, and was relating what had passed to a friend, when there came a rap, and Arnold entered, looking very crest-fallen. "I have come to tell you, Sir, that I have found out I was wrong." "Aye, Arnold," said Goddard, holding out his hand, "I knew you would come." I doubt not the great Head-master of

"that he owed the prosperity of the school to the influence of a few boys of very high stamp; and he instanced three of them one day,—Rolfe, Inglis, and Lefevre. 'Sir,' he said, 'one is a Baron of the Exchequer, who will live to be Lord Chancellor; another is Member for the University of Oxford; and the third, Speaker of the House of Commons. Rolfe and Lefevre are Whigs, in spite of all I can say; and yet there never were better boys!'"

Rugby bore that occurrence in mind long afterwards, and that it influenced his dealings with many a Sixth-form boy at Rugby. Goddard had a very just appreciation of his distinguished pupil; among the evidences of which was his perception that Arnold's powers did not extend to an aptitude for English poetry. Dr. Stanley has recorded that, while at Winchester, his hero wrote a long poem on "Simon de Montfort," in the style of Sir Walter Scott, which procured for him the appellative of "Poet Arnold;" but Dr. Goddard did not acquiesce in this title of honour, his only remark being, "I wish he would read his Homer!"

The Doctor himself used to tell an amusing anecdote of his school experience, which the reader may like to hear, though I do not know the name of the person concerned. There was a boy in the school who had a special fancy for horticulture, as Martin, in "Tom Brown's School-days," is represented as having for natural history. The boy indulged his fancy so far as to rent a piece of ground in the outskirts of the town, where he grew fruit and vegetables. Unluckily it was out of bounds, and the amateur gardener was repeatedly caught playing the truant on his way to and from his Arcadia. Lectures, impositions, and floggings were found wholly insufficient to amend the evil. One day, Dr. Goddard, sitting at lunch with his wife and sister-in-law, and partaking with relish of a particularly savoury salad, spoke of this boy: "I really do not know what to do with him," he said; "he is as orderly and diligent a pupil as I ever had, but he will persist in going out of bounds to that foolish garden of his. I have just caught him again; he must be severely punished, I suppose." "What did you say his name

was?" inquired Mrs. Goddard, pricking up her ears. "——," answered the Doctor, "what do you know of him?" "Only, my dear, that that fine cucumber you are enjoying is a present from him!" How he was dealt with I cannot say, but the Doctor could hardly have flogged him. The cucumber would surely have been more difficult of digestion than even the famous cucumber of Barham's poem, if he had.

Mr. Collins's assertion, that no rebellion took place in Dr. Goddard's time, is not quite correct. In the autumn of 1808 there was an outbreak, which, under a less wise rule, might have grown to something serious. A brief narrative is given of it by Augustus Hare, in the first volume of "*Memorials of a Quiet Life.*" It appears that it was the custom of the school in his day not to make every Saint's-day a holiday (as was certainly the practice both before and afterwards), but to ask the Præfects whether they objected to its being treated as a school-day—a singular regulation, and one which could hardly have been of Goddard's making. Probably he had come to regard it, in the lapse of time, as a mere farce, and omitted the usual formula. But the Præfects, with the inveterate Toryism of boy nature, regarded this as an invasion of their privileges. A considerable section of them banded together to order the juniors not to go into school, and Hare himself, supposing his colleagues to be unanimous on the subject, joined the malcontents. But it soon appeared that only half the Sixth Book had agreed to rebel, and that half chiefly junior Præfects. In a very short time they submitted, and asked pardon, and the Doctor wisely granted a general amnesty, only abstaining from appointing any of the mutineers

to the offices in college, and taking care himself to adhere to the old practice for the future.

This was one of the last occurrences in Dr. Goddard's Head-mastership. In 1809, at the early age of fifty-two, he resigned the Head-mastership of Winchester. He was selected by Archbishop Howley, when made Bishop of London in 1813, to preach his Consecration Sermon,—“considering him, perhaps, as a neglected man,” writes Dr. Gabell to his friend Parr; but more probably as remembering the time when he was himself a small junior, new to college life, and Goddard a kindly Præfect. Any way, if there had been neglect, it was nobly atoned for. The Doctor was made, in January, 1814, a Prebend of St. Paul's, by Bishop Howley, and in October, 1829, Canon of Salisbury, by his old school-fellow, Bishop Burgess; he was also presented to the living of Bep-ton, in Sussex, and held that of Wherwell, near Andover, for some years, *in commendam*, for the Iremonger family. Bishop Howley also offered him the living of Kensington, worth £2,000 a-year, but the Doctor declined it.

He survived until 1845, residing for the last twenty-five years of his life sometimes at Andover, which had been Mrs. Goddard's residence, and sometimes in Cadogan-place, the centre of a cheerful coterie; —“never so happy,” writes Lord Eversley, “as when he was surrounded by those who had been educated at Winchester under his presidency.” He died in Oct. 1845, in Cadogan-place, and his remains were removed for interment to Andover, the noble church of which he had rebuilt, at a cost, it is estimated, of £30,000. By his own desire no monument was placed over his grave. No man ever less needed a monument.

This was not the only, nor the greatest, act of his liberality^u. In the Statutes of Winchester College, the Founder expressly orders that the Masters shall receive no money from the boys on the foundation, on any pretext whatsoever^x. A custom, nevertheless, had sprung up before Dr. Goddard's time, of charging in the account of each of the College-boys, ten pounds for the payment of the Masters. Being, however, contrary to the positive directions of the Founder, it would have been illegal to "demand, ask, or claim" it. It was therefore entered as "gratuity, if allowed," and was, of course, paid by all parents, who did not wish to see their sons tabooed as "mean." Who the ingenious person was who devised this mode of obtaining the money, without breaking the Statutes, I am unable to say. But Dean Swift, if he had lived a century later, would certainly, when writing his "Tale of a Tub," have taken a leaf out of his book. Dr. Goddard, however, took a different view of the matter. He had taken an oath to receive no money from the College-boys, "*in any manner whatsoever*;" and he did receive ten pounds apiece from each of them every year, in a manner which was simple and intelligible enough. He resolved, like the noble-minded man he was, at once to make restitution of what he ought not to have taken; and to deliver his successors for ever

^u He gave 10,000 to the Industrial Schools at Andover, rebuilt Foxcote Church, left £1,000 to the charities of Andover, another £1,000 to the living, and his residence at Andover to be the Vicarage there.

^x "Inhibentes eidem Magistro et Hostiario, ne ab aliquo Scholarium prædictorum parentibus vel ab amicis eorum pro labore suo circa dictos scholares, causâ seu occasione instructionis hujusmodi impensis, seu etiam impendendis, quidque exigere, petere, aut vindicare quovismodo præsumant."—Stat. Rub. 12.

from the same embarrassing predicament¹. He had begun saving his money for the purpose, he said, from an early date ; and some ten years before his death, presented to the college a sum in the Funds, sufficient to pay the £700 hitherto charged annually to the parents of the boys on the Foundation, on condition that for the future no charge whatever for tuition should be made upon them².

Subsequently to this donation, and not long previously to his death, Dr. Goddard paid a final visit to the college. He called on none of the authorities, but went round every part of the college, accompanied only by the Porter ; who did not know him, and only subsequently discovered who the stranger was. He visited the School, the Hall, and the Chambers, asking many questions, and evidently deeply interested in the replies he received. The last place to which they repaired was the Chapel. He stood awhile in the Informator's seat, looking earnestly on the well-remembered objects of thirty years ago, and then kneeling down at his old desk, said solemnly, "I thank God that I have not lived in vain !"

In personal appearance Dr. Goddard did not exceed the middle height. He had a very handsome face, with a clear blue eye, and a kindly smile. In society he was remarkably pleasant and affable, always setting his guests at their ease by the suavity of his manner. His picture, which was presented to him by his pupils on his retirement from office,

¹ "It has been such a distress of conscience to me to receive this money," he wrote : "I am determined no Head-master in future shall suffer the same distress."

² See note at the end of this Chapter.

has been engraved, and is in the possession of many of his former scholars. The original is in the Warden's Gallery at Winchester. The Scholarships which were founded in his honour are duly mentioned in another chapter^a.

^a By an order of the Public School Commissioners, ratified by the Queen in Council some few years ago, the College-boys are required to pay annually the sum of £21 each; and this has been thought by some to be a breach of the conditions on which Dr. Goddard's benefaction was bestowed. "The Doctor gave his money," it is said, "in order that the College-boys should, for the future, be charged nothing for their education; and now, notwithstanding that they have his money, the College-boys are charged twice as much."

But it was not to abolish all payments of whatsoever kind, but only the £10 charged for the payment of the Masters, in breach of Wykeham's Statutes, that Dr. Goddard bestowed his gift: and as no part of the £21 above referred to goes to the Masters, there has been at least no breach of faith. From time immemorial the parents of the College-boys have been required to pay for certain things; such as Washing, Medical attendance, College Tutors, &c. These amount to about £10, and the £21 includes them. The other £11 or so was imposed in order to go to the general purposes of the college, the Commissioners being of opinion that it was *per se* desirable that the College-boys should pay something for their education, than that they should receive it altogether gratuitously. Whether they were right in this, is of course a matter of opinion; but it is a different matter, any way, from a breach of faith.

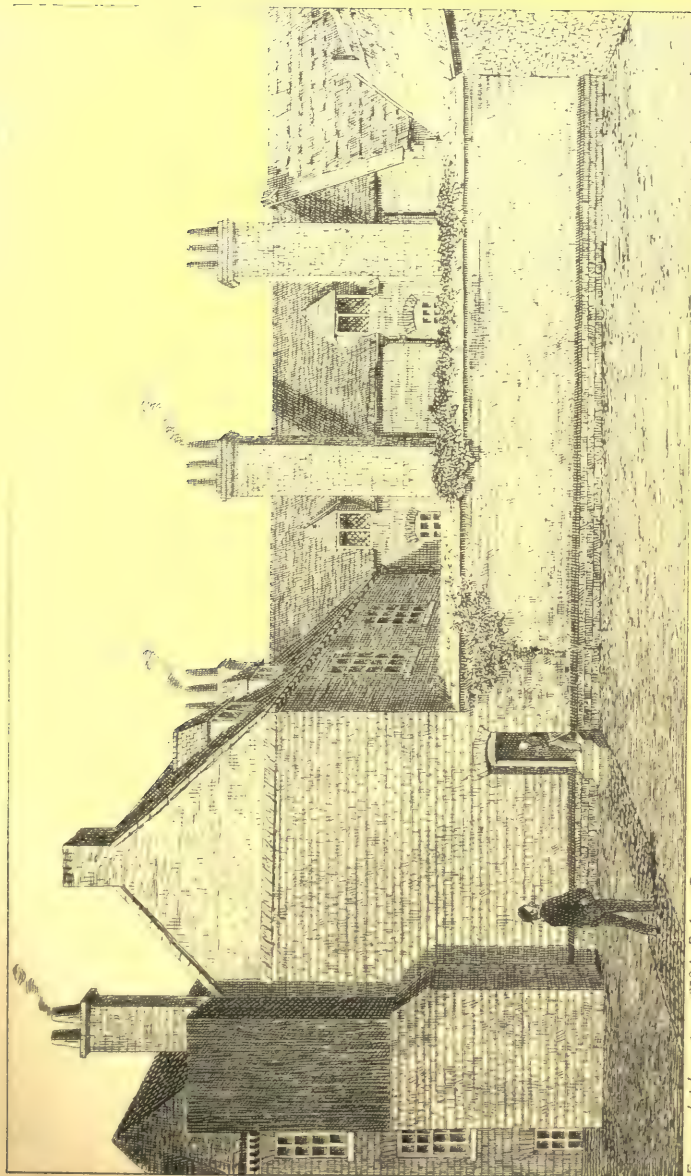
There appears also to be a notion that this £11 was imposed with a view of establishing a certain number of Exhibitions, to be given to boys found most deserving of them: so that what was paid out with one hand, as it were, would be received back with the other. But this is a mistake. I am advised that there is no connection between this payment of £21 and the Exhibitions, which it is the purpose of the Governing Body to found when the finances of the college will permit it to be done. At present, the discontinuance of fines, and the running out of leases, &c., have diminished the annual revenue to such an extent, that there is no money wherewith to pay the Exhibitions. This inability, however, is only temporary.

CHAPTER X.

DR. GABELL.

HENRY DISON GABELL, Dr. Goddard's successor, was born A.D. 1764. His father was the Rev. Timothy Gabell, chorister of Magdalen College Oxford, afterwards Minor Canon of Winchester Cathedral, and Chaplain of the College. To that foundation he was fortunate enough to obtain a nomination for his son in 1780; and in 1784 the latter succeeded to a Fellowship at New College^a. Little seems to be known of Henry's boyhood and youth. His father was a man of narrow means, and the young student must have been obliged to maintain himself at an earlier age than is usual. I am aware of only one anecdote of his younger days—he is said to have been present at the storming of the Bastille in 1789; and the mob, who were in want of linen to make bandages for the wounded, stripped his shirt off his back, and tore it into fragments to serve their purpose; making, however, profuse apologies to "Monsieur l'étranger" for the liberty they were taking. The English at that time were fortunately high in favour with the *Sans-culottes*; a year or two later they might have torn *him* in pieces, along with his shirt, as it was their pleasant fashion to do, during the Reign of Terror, when they

^a As a two years' probation is required at New College before admission to a Fellowship, in the case of all except Founder's kin, Gabell must have gone off to Oxford in 1782, after two years only in college. This seems strange; I can only suppose that he must have been in Commoners previously, and hence have been admitted to college as a Præfect.



From a sketch made in 1838 by Richard Barzant.

encountered any one guilty of the offence of wearing clean linen.

Gabell must have been known during his undergraduate days as a sound scholar; for we find that he was elected in 1785, very soon after taking his B.A. degree, to the Head-mastership of the Grammar School at Warminster, succeeding Warden Huntingford in that office. He remained at Warminster till 1793, when a vacancy occurring in the Second Mastership of Winchester College, he was chosen to fill it. Two years previously to this he had married Miss Gage, daughter of the Rector of Holton in Oxfordshire, by whom he had several children. In 1812 he obtained the living of Ashow in Warwickshire, through the patronage of his friend, Mr. Chandos Leigh; and in 1820, Lord Chancellor Eldon, whose grandson was at that time one of his pupils, presented him to the Rectory of Binfield in Berkshire; but both these pieces of preferment came to him after his appointment to the Head-mastership, which occurred in 1809, on the retirement of Dr. Goddard.

In personal appearance Dr. Gabell was above the middle height, with bold, handsome features, and a good presence. The portrait of Lord Heathfield, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the National Gallery, is said to have resembled him. As regards his mental qualities, it will be proper to speak of him as a scholar, a teacher, and a man. As a scholar, he was learned, acute, and accurate; and is said to have understood Horace better than any man of his day. "It was a grand sight," writes one of his pupils, "to see him parading up and down in front of 'Pulpiteers,' full of enthusiasm for his author, and repeating his words with reverent and affectionate emphasis." In the correspondence he

maintained with Parr (which may be read in the 4th volume of Johnstone's life of the latter), he holds his own with the facility and grace of an equal,—no easy matter, for Parr, beyond doubt, was a profoundly learned man. The frequency of the letters interchanged^b, as well as the letters themselves, shew that Parr had the highest opinion of Gabell. "Real and great," he writes, "is the satisfaction which I feel in the society of a man, who brings to every subject of criticism so large a portion as you do, of readiness, acuteness, judgment and taste^c."

As a teacher, if he had any equal, at least he had no superior. "In his power of communicating knowledge,"—says one of his pupils^d, himself a first-class man, and highly distinguished in public life afterwards,—“and of enforcing accuracy in its acquirement; in his skill and power of turning a boy's mind inside out, as it were, and distinguishing when a ready answer implied real knowledge of the language or subject in hand, and when it proceeded from mere cram—I have never met his equal, nor any one near him. I say this with a full remem-

^b But the letters on both sides were more easily written than read. Parr's hand was often almost illegible, and Gabell's (of which I have seen some specimens) was execrably bad. There is a traditional story of the latter having sent one day for Bower, the writing-master, to decipher a letter of Parr's, which he himself had pronounced wholly unreadable. With some difficulty, Bower made out that it contained a complaint of the impossibility of reading Gabell's handwriting!

^c Parr to Gabell, Jan. 12, 1813. His feeling towards the latter may be inferred also from the tone of his letter to him of Dec. 12, 1812. "If you go to Stoneleigh," he writes, "your visit here can be only for a day; but it must be a *solid* day. I will ask Butler of Shrewsbury to meet you; he is anxious to see you. Let us meet together, and chat like men of sense, about books; laugh at the pomp and pedantry of verbal critics; mourn over the irksome toil and scanty profits of schoolmasters; quaff a bumper to the good cause of flogging; another, to the Duke of Wellington, &c."

^d Sir W. Heathcote.

brance of the eminent men who were Tutors at Oriel when I was an undergraduate there." This does not imply that Dr. Gabell was the superior, or even the equal, of the great men here referred to, except in the faculty of teaching; but it is strong testimony to his power in that respect.

To the same effect write others. Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, attributes the accuracy of scholarship which distinguished his elder brother, John Wordsworth,—whose writings are still preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a marvel of learning, considering the age of their author—to Gabell's training of him at Winchester. "A good deal," he says, "depended in those days on the minute precision with which the senior boys did their weekly exercise of translating Greek and Latin on paper in a book. Some did the task without a single fault; and the inflexible rigour with which these exercises were looked over, under Gabell's direction, especially by Ridding*, may be inferred from a specimen which I remember. It was considered an unpardonable offence (equal in enormity to a false concord, or quantity), if a boy wrote 'Oh!' before a noun in the vocative case, instead of 'O!'"†

* The Rev. Charles Ridding, Hostiarius from 1823 to 1835, afterwards Fellow of Winchester, and Vicar of Andover. Few men have deserved better of the Wykehamical body. His munificent gift to the boys of the "Fives-courts" is but a small item among the benefits he conferred. I can testify from personal experience to the accuracy of his teaching. I used to think him somewhat hard upon me in my Junior Part of Fifth days,—though never unkind, for a kinder-hearted man never breathed. I have learned, that if I had profited by that same accuracy, I should have escaped many a grievous failure in after life.

† Ridding's successor as Hostiarius, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, was fully his equal, or Gabell's either, in sticking for absolute faultlessness. The boys were wont facetiously to re-

Dr. Gabell's personal character is a more difficult matter to deal with, and was strangely chequered with light and shade. In society, he was unusually agreeable and entertaining. His nature was, in the main, genial and kindly; and his pupils, even those who suffered severe penalties at his hands, generally spoke affectionately of him. When he resigned in 1823, the whole of the boys subscribed £2 apiece, to present him with a piece of plate,—a practice common now-a-days, but by no means so then. At the dinner given on the occasion of its presentation, when he made his farewell speech, every eye in the room was moist with tears. Yet he was a man whose authority could not be trifled with. The school phrase current long after his time, of “spiting Gabell,” signifying that any boy who entered on an encounter with him was tolerably sure to come off second-best, is unanswerable evidence of this fact^g. But his good qualities were mingled with others apparently quite inconsistent with them. Acute and well-informed as he was, he was easily imposed upon, and would swallow down and detail any *gobemouche* story told him, though its author might have been Baron Munchausen himself. One of his pupils once gravely asked him “if he could tell him what the reason was why spiders never died?” He fell instantly into the

present him as saying, “This is a very good vulgus; the Latinity correct and classical, the idea happy and well-turned; but you have omitted the full stop at the end. Lose three places!” I have no doubt many of his pupils are grateful to their old master, as I am to mine.

^g It is proper however to remark, that there is another version current among Wykehamists, as to the meaning of this phrase. It is said that the boys, being one day very angry with him, would not ask for a remedy, when they knew he wanted to go out to his farm. He did come into school accordingly, but was so exceptionally severe with them, that they repented sorely of their bargain.

trap, and answered, thoughtfully, "that the fact was no doubt very remarkable," proceeding to speculate at some length as to what the cause could be,—thus outdoing even the members of the Geographical Society, on whom Charles II. played off his celebrated jest^h.

Again, though in general quick and collected, he was at times the most absent of men ; of which circumstance many amusing stories are told. It was a favourite exercise with him, to require a boy to take the New Testament, and read a passage off into Greekⁱ. One day, a boy acquitted himself with such unusual success, as to rouse the Doctor's suspicion that he had the Greek, instead of the English, version in his hand. He stepped down from the chair, and took the book from the boy. It was, as he had surmised, the Greek Testament. But, in the interval between leaving his seat and laying hold on the book, he had forgotten all about the matter, except only that he had suspected the boy of having a "crib." Cribes, of course, are in the English lan-

^h He had himself a keen sense of humour, which boys are quick to appreciate. On one occasion, when examining the vulgusses of the morning, it being the first of April, he found written on one the words, "Gabell is an April fool." He glanced round, and speedily convicting the offender, desired him to order his name for a Bibler. At the end of school the boy was duly taken up, Gabell raised the rod, then flung it away; and remarking, "Who's the fool now?" walked out of school.

ⁱ It was also his practice to make boys read off a passage into English without taking the Latin words. His pupils were famous in Oxford for their ability in this particular. It is related of Keble, when Tutor at Oriel, that one day in lecture, when one of the men began reading off the passage he was construing into English, as one or two Wykehamists had done, Keble stopped him, saying, "I must trouble you to take the author's words also. I can allow none but Wykehamists to read off a passage into English."

guage; and seeing that the book he had taken was a Greek one, he handed it back to the boy, with an apology, and desired him to proceed.

On another occasion, he fished out from some pigeon-holes near his chair, a number of old exercises, and began looking them over. Discovering a false quantity in one of them, he desired the Ostiarius to send the offender, one Saumarez, to him. The Ostiarius, a lad keenly alive to the humour of the situation, obeyed without demur. He left the school, and was absent half-an-hour. Then he returned, and reported with a grave face that he could not find Saumarez. "I have looked everywhere for him Sir,—in Chambers, and Meads, and Sick-house, and he is in none of them. But they *say*," he added, after a pause, "that he left a year and a-half ago!"

It was his practice to keep a private register of offenders, on which he chiefly relied; and the boys, aware of this fact, would sometimes purloin it, and so escape. An amusing anecdote is told of this register. There was a boy in the school whose name he was continually mistaking, identifying him in his own mind with a family, to which the boy used to have leave out. One day this lad committed some grave offence, for which the Doctor wrote his name down in his register, but by the pseudonym he had conferred upon him. It happened that there was a boy in the school, who really bore the name in question, and who hearing himself called up for punishment, obeyed the summons, earnestly, however, assuring the Doctor that he had committed no offence. His representations were vain¹. Antici-

¹ A somewhat similar, but more monstrous story, is told of Dr. Keate, by the author of "Etoniana." "One day, a culprit,

pating the celebrated dictum of Mr. Justice Stareleigh in the "Pickwick Papers," the Doctor declared that the name could not have got on his list, unless the boy had been guilty of some offence. He was duly flogged accordingly, receiving an extra cut for his remonstrance; while the real culprit looked on with a face expressive of no small amusement^k.

He has been also charged with favouritism. Those, it is said, whose taste and ability enabled them to satisfy his requirements, would receive from him not only an unwise amount of praise, but an unfair amount of school rewards and privileges, while ordinary capacities were sharply censured, or left out in the cold. Whenever a striking passage occurred in the lesson, one of his favourites would be set on to construe it, and at the end of the performance, complimented with the customary phrase, "well done, ba-ay^l." Others would be left unnoticed, it might be for weeks, and then be suddenly called up, and their shortcomings made the subject not only

who was due for punishment, could nowhere be found, and the Doctor was kept waiting on the scene of action for some time, in a state of considerable exasperation. In an evil moment for himself, a namesake of the defaulter passed the door; he was seized at once by Keate's order, and brought to the block as a vicarious sacrifice."

^k It is further very generally reported that Dr. Gabell was either really unable to count, or purposely miscounted. "*Staaap* in two," he would say when a boy offended, (that is, stop in during two leaves out to write an imposition); and again, "*Staaap* in three, &c." When he came to sum up the penalties at the end of school, he would multiply a boy's penalties after the fashion of Falstaff's buckram men. "Jones is to *staaap* in two, and again one, that's *five*;" and again two, that's *nine*, &c." If Jones was unwise enough to plead that two and one did not make five, &c., he saw reason to wish he had held his tongue. This is witnessed to by so many of his pupils, that I must needs believe it, strange as it is.

^l He pronounced the "o" after the fashion attributed to Titus Oates, sounding it as if it had been a double "a."

of punishment, but of ridicule. In any disputes between the favoured ones and the οἱ πολλοί, it is said that there was small chance of a decision in favour of the latter. Favouritism is a charge often made against Masters without reason ; but in Dr. Gabell's instance it is so general, and so respectably supported, that there must be some foundation for it. Another peculiarity was, the distrust with which he regarded his pupils, however high their characters might stand. He would charge any boy, on the slightest appearance of anything doubtful, with lying and shuffling. One of his pupils reports, that when he once returned a day after the other boys, the Doctor questioned him as to the reason of this. He answered that he had been detained by the serious illness of an aunt. Gabell knew him to be a truthful boy, yet he answered, "You have been a long time *fudging* up that aunt of yours." On another occasion, when going round Chambers, he saw a boy with a black handkerchief round his throat. He made no examination of the boy's attire, but the next morning punished him for having been in bed with his clothes on. The lad assured Gabell that had not been the case ; but that he had tied a black silk-handkerchief round his neck, because he had a sore throat. This boy's character also for truthfulness was unblemished, yet the Doctor refused to believe him, and exacted the punishment. Stories like these are common enough, and shew the settled habit of his mind.

This disbelief in the honour of his pupils made him resort to even more objectionable practices. If two boys got into a scrape together, he would lock them up in separate rooms. Then going to *A.*, he would say, "Now, *A.*, *B.* has told me all ; take that sheet of paper, and write me *your* account also of the mat-

ter. It will be compared with his; and if it should be found that you have deceived me in any particular, your punishment will be much more severe." Then passing on to *B.*, he would go through the same formula. It is hard to say whether the folly, or the culpability of dealing with boys after this manner, was the greater.

The same fault of character induced him to listen to tale-bearing information, brought privately to him. The Wykehamical system, beyond all others, is incompatible with this practice. In making the Præfects the responsible reporters of all grave infractions of school-discipline, it, by implication, renders all other modes of communication through the boys irregular and inadmissible. None but the meanest spirits, indeed, in any school will consent to convey the delinquencies of their school-fellows to the ears of their Masters, except as an openly-acknowledged duty; and such should never be listened to. But Gabell would sometimes, at all events, lend his ear to them; and it is probably to this practice of his that the frequent disturbances which took place under his *régime*, are to be traced, and more particularly the rebellion of 1818; which, neither in respect of the violent measures resorted to by the boys, nor the gravity of the consequences resulting from it, can be regarded as less serious than that of 1793. It differed from the last-named outbreak, in that it had no immediate and definite cause. It was rather the result of a long series of petty irritations; and the incidents which brought it about, were the slight straws which break at last the camel's back.

Among the Commoner Tutors at this time, there was one who was the special object of the boys' dislike. He was a first-rate scholar, but a man of

vulgar mind, and given to coarse language,—a thing which invariably rouses the indignant disgust of boys, however careless some of them may be themselves in this respect. The Tutor in question was further suspected of having invited some of the Præfects to dine with him ; and the boys having been induced to talk unguardedly of their doings, a report of what they had said was carried to Dr. Gabell, who straight-way acted upon it. A particular walk, which was a favourite with the Præfects, was interdicted,—the object being, to prevent the practice of shirking into the town, which had come to the Head-master's knowledge in the way above mentioned : one of the weekly remedies was suppressed ; and names were called at the bottom of " Hills," instead of, as heretofore, the third stile, thus causing a great many to be reported absent, who would otherwise have been in time to answer their names.

Slight as these circumstances were, in the irritated state of public feeling they were enough to cause a general revolt. It was agreed that the whole of the Commoners, 130 in number, should join their school-fellows in college, and together barricade the latter against the Masters. On Thursday, May 7, about half-past three in the afternoon, the final arrangements were made. The boys armed themselves with sticks, and gaining possession of the keys, rushed tumultuously into college. Arrived there, the insurrection proper commenced. The keys of the college also were seized, the porter surrendering them with the same abject terror as his predecessor^m in 1793 ; the servants were turned out (with the exception of

^m The Commoner servant, Billy Etherege, made a resolute resistance ; and it was only after a sharp struggle that the keys were wrested from him.

a cook, who was retained to prepare supper for the boys), and the gates were locked behind them. It was unanimously resolved to hold out until the Doctor should restore the old bounds, and the second weekly remedy.

All the College-boys took part in the outbreak, except six of the senior college Præfects, who by general consent stood aloof (since any share in it would infallibly have lost them New College), and all the Commoners, except *one*. But there was one little boy, in Junior Part Fifth, who sturdily and persistently refused "to rebel." Arguments, entreaties, reproaches, and threats, all proved vain to overcome his resistance. Failing in these attempts, his school-fellows proceeded to employ kicks and cuffs, but with no better effect: he *would* not. The reader will be interested to hear that the name of this youthful "Abdiel" was William Sewell.

The leaders now proceeded to marshal and arrange their forces. Some were appointed to act as sentries at the entrances; others as patrols; others to superintend the commissariat. No attempt was made to interfere with the boys that night. One of the actors in this strange drama—then a Junior Part Fifth boy, afterwards a Head-master and a Bishop,—relates how he sat up all night with his companions, over Middle-gate, wrapped in blankets, drinking beer from the great college jacks, and telling ghost stories. On the following morning, Mr. Williams, the Hostiarius, made his appearance in Middle-court, on his way to the Warden's house. He was obliged to take that route, because the boys had blocked up the passage between his house and that of the Warden with scobs,—following in that, as in many other particulars, the tradition of the rebels of 1793. As soon

as he entered the court, the ringleaders addressed him in the most respectful terms, assuring him that they felt not the slightest enmity towards him, and that he was free to go in and out at his pleasure. To this Mr. Williams replied, "that he could make no terms, and exchange no civilities, with rebels." He was allowed to pass through Middle-gate, and joined the Warden and Masters assembled at his house.

Breakfast, which the "cooks" had been preparing, was now served in the college hall. The provisions which the boys had been able to lay in were potatoes, flour, and bacon; out of these materials the *artistes* had endeavoured to manufacture soup. One of those who partook of this compound gives a graphic description of it. When the lids of the tureens were taken off, he says, there appeared about two inches of lukewarm fat, under that was a quantity of extremely solid dough, and at the bottom of all a mass of raw potato. The boys ate it, for the same reason that some savage tribes are said to eat dirt—because they could get nothing else. But my informant assured me, that not even boys could have survived a *second* such meal. If the Warden and Masters had only known how the rebels had breakfasted, they would simply have left them alone, and they must needs have capitulated without conditionsⁿ.

They, however, were of a different opinion. While the leaders of the school were anxiously discussing their arrangements, a report having been brought

ⁿ A curious contrast to the conduct of the authorities on this occasion, will be found in the narrative of a small disturbance which took place in New Commoners in 1848. See Chap. xiii.

to them that soldiers had been seen in the Warden's garden—the Warden himself made his appearance at one of the windows looking into the quadrangle, and threw down a sheet of paper. This, being perused, was found to contain the following words: "If the scholars in 1793 had intimated to the authorities the subject of their complaints, the trouble and scandal then caused would have been prevented." No part of the conduct of the Warden and his advisers appears so indefensible as this letter. The boys, on the occasion referred to, *did* state the "subject of their complaints," and in most respectful terms, before they rebelled. It was only when redress was somewhat harshly refused, that they broke out into mutiny.

Probably the receipt of this letter only encouraged the malcontents to persevere. One of the seniors ordered a washing-stool, an inkstand, and a sheet of foolscap to be fetched, and, summoning his school-fellows round him, gravely inquired of each whether he had any complaint to make of the Warden. A whole string of *gravamina* was straightway poured forth, and faithfully transferred to the paper. This, however, did not reach the Warden's eye—a fortunate circumstance for all parties concerned, if its contents have been truly reported.

While the boys were thus engaged, a message was brought to them that Canon Barnard was anxious to address the boys. It appeared afterwards that he had been requested to attend as a magistrate, and read the Riot Act, in order that the soldiers might be legally employed, if necessary. He was anxious, however, to try the effect of his eloquence, before force should be resorted to. The boys were delighted at the notion of hearing a speech from the worthy

Canon. He was straight invited into the court, and conducted to a rostrum, composed of scobs and washing-stools. He began his discourse with a metaphor derived from the walking-stick he carried, and for some time his periods were vociferously applauded ; but the boys presently got tired, and cut short his oration with scant ceremony. He had to descend and leave the court, without having produced the desired impression.

The boys now set themselves to secure the door of the Warden's house, through which they feared that soldiers might enter the court from the Warden's garden. A staple was wrenched from one of the out-houses, and driven into the centre of the door ; a stout cord was passed through it, and lashed to spars fixed on either door-jamb. While they were thus engaged, the Head-master looked out from the bow-window above, and threatened one of the rioters, a baronet, and now a K.C.B., that "he should be brought on his knees before the House of Lords, for imprisoning a Peer of Parliament (the Warden, Bishop of Hereford) in his own house."

This threat not producing much effect, and it being evident that the boys were fully as determined as their predecessors in 1793 had been, the old stratagem was resorted to, and this time with better success. One of the Commoner Tutors (a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, I am sorry to say) appeared at the bow-window. He was commissioned to inform the boys that the Riot Act had been read, and the soldiers sent for ; but as the authorities were anxious to prevent injury to the college, all the boys, if they would surrender the keys, were at liberty to go home for a fortnight.

Less wise than their predecessors, the boys fell into the trap prepared for them. They handed over the keys, threw away their sticks, which flew like a flight of rockets over Paradise^o, and rushed joyously through the gate towards High-street, in order to take advantage of their furlough. They ran down College-street, and through the Cathedral Close; but as they approached the narrow stone passage, called the Slype, they encountered a company of soldiers, headed by an officer in a blue military frock and forage-cap. Something of a scuffle followed, and one of the boys knocked down the officer. But they were not prepared to fight with their fists against soldiers armed with bayonets. They turned short round, and ran back through the Close; the red-jackets followed, making many captures, and handing their prisoners over to the school authorities. It is possible that they took part the more willingly in the affair, as they had recently had a quarrel with the boys about one of their bathing-places. The officer, not rendered any the more amiable by his overthrow, also pursued the retreating boys, pricking with his sword one of the big College-boys (afterwards a Canon of Chichester and Warwickshire Rector) who chanced to be the hindmost of his party.

In this manner they reached College-street, and would have escaped from the town by the road over Black-bridge, if a second row of soldiers had not confronted them, drawn across the street just beyond the college gate. Shut in between two fires, the boys could do nothing; the College-boys were compelled to pass singly through the wicket, and were met by the announcement that twenty of their body were expelled. The Commoners were mustered in

^o See Glossary on word.

their hall, names were called, and they were told there would be school at two o'clock. Meanwhile, the presumed ringleaders were summoned, one by one, to a room in the Head-master's house, where the Masters and Tutors were assembled. Some were expelled without further inquiry,—among others Porcher, the senior Præfect, afterwards a Wiltshire Squire; and Sir Alexander Malet, the third senior Præfect. Others had the option given them of asking pardon, and among these was Page Wood, the second senior Præfect, on the ground of his general good conduct, and the prizes he had gained in every class. But he would not separate himself from them, and shared their fate. It was only by diplomacy that Dr. Gabell could persuade any of the seniors to accept the office of Præfect; and for a long time afterwards a feeling of bitter indignation was retained by the boys. Further outrages, indeed, were perpetrated, for which no penalties could be exacted. The whole of the glass, frames and all, were smashed in the school-room and Commoner Hall. A considerable number of the Commoners again escaped, and after a grand dinner at the "George," went home to their friends. Some of these were brought back, others left; and things were gradually reduced to something like order.

Reviewing calmly and impartially the history of these two extraordinary outbreaks—as after so long an interval of time it is possible to do—but one opinion of them can be expressed. They exhibit an amount of incapacity, mismanagement, and bad faith, such as, it is to be hoped, the authorities of no school ever displayed before, or will display again.

With the exceptions of Dr. Goddard in the first rebellion, and Dr. Williams in the second, there does

not seem to have been a single individual fitted to deal with boys. Petty severities, alike uncalled for and unwise in their mode of application; a total want of manly firmness in facing the emergency; treacherous and unscrupulous advantage taken of the open-hearted guilelessness of boy-nature, are the main characteristics of their proceedings. The characters of the rebels, as evidenced by their after lives, are, in themselves, the strongest condemnation of their masters. That four such men (to name no others) as Bishop Mant, Field-marshal Lord Seaton, Lord Chancellor Hatherley, and Sir Alexander Malet, K.C.B.—every one of whom attained not only the highest honours in their several professions, but the universal respect of their contemporaries—should have been expelled from the school, where their pupilage would, in after years, be remembered as conferring on it the highest honour, is a fact which can require no comment. The reader will not be surprised to hear that the Chamber, at the ensuing election, did all in their power to reverse the unrighteous proceedings of the preceding spring. They required the removal of the obnoxious Commoner Tutor; they restored every boy who had been put down in the school, to his former place; they publicly expressed their regret that they were unable to recall those who had been expelled. Both the Posers^p of the year delivered their opinion of what had been done in very plain terms; but the junior of the two was so overpowered by the sense of wrong, which could not be set right, that he is related

^p The Venerable Justly Hill, Archdeacon of Bucks, was Senior Poser; and Mr. John Poulter, afterwards M.P. for Shaftesbury, but unseated on petition, Junior Poser. Both were right-minded men; but both also given to express their minds freely on occasion.

to have laid his head down on the table in Election Chamber, and fairly wept aloud with indignation⁹!

It does not appear that the numbers in Commoners were much reduced in consequence of this outbreak. In 1820, only two years afterwards, the school was as full as ever. Dr. Gabell continued to hold office until 1823, when he resigned, and retired to Binfield. There he lived for eight years, interesting himself much in the care of his garden, and keeping up his intimacy with old friends. He died quite painlessly, it is believed in his sleep, on April 9th, 1831, at the age of 67.

Among his more famous pupils, in addition to those already named (Lord Hatherley, Sir W. Heathcote, Sir A. Malet, and W. Sewell), should be mentioned the Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester; Dr. Saunders, Dean of Peterborough, and Head-master of Charterhouse; Sir Edward Head, Governor of New Brunswick; Sir F. Baring, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Taunton, and the Rev. J. Griffith, Warden of Wadham.

⁹ The following extract from the Winchester paper of the day, inserted evidently by the authorities, illustrates what has been said of their good faith. "A serious disturbance, we are sorry to say, has taken place at the College School, near this town. The young Gentlemen, both Scholars and Commoners (except a few College Præfects), at half-past-three on Thursday afternoon, armed themselves with sticks, stones, &c., and got possession of the walls. The Warden, Fellows, and Masters *having refused to treat with them on any other terms, than an unconditional return to their duty*, they at ten o'clock next morning delivered up their sticks, opened their gates, and went to their quarters!"

CHAPTER XI.

DR. WILLIAMS.

DR. WILLIAMS came after Dr. Gabell. "It was like Melancthon following Luther," says one of their common pupils; "or like Lité, in Homer, coming after Ate," as others have suggested. Yet strange to say, at the outset of his rule, Dr. Williams was not as popular as his predecessor. His inflexible justice contrasted unfavourably, in the eyes of the boys, with Dr. Gabell's partizanship in their behalf. The same temper which induced the latter to favour those pupils who were after his own heart, to the undue disregard of others, induced him to stand up for his own boys also, against all the world, let the justice of the case be what it might. When Farmer Bridger^a, between whom and the boys there existed a *παλαιὸν ἔχθος*, came to complain that the latter had flooded his meadows, or had made a bonfire of his fences, or hunted one of his horses over hedges and ditches, or any other of the diversions wherewith they were wont to relieve the monotony of "Evening Hills;" or when Symonds, another ancient enemy, threatened to have some of the Præfects up for poaching in his preserved water—Gabell would turn them out of his house; but Williams would listen, and do straight justice to all. This was not numbered among his virtues by the boys, who were wont to protest that "old Gabell

^a Mr. Bridger, of Twyford, a much-enduring man. I should like to see a history of the boys written by him, with notes and illustrations by Mr. Symonds: it would be an edifying volume.

had been worth a dozen of this Gaffer^b:" and the liberal kindness he shewed, in himself paying the rent of "Commoner Field," (which the boys had always been obliged to pay for themselves), as well as in increasing their comforts in various ways, was but little appreciated. "I am afraid we never even thanked him for it," writes more than one of his old pupils. This, however, did not last, and is, after all, no more than every new Head-master has to endure.

"Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi,"

is never more true, than in the instance of boys and their Masters. And if there was no real "virtus," in the departed, they are very apt to imagine it. Before long Dr. Williams came to be fully appreciated by his pupils, and no schoolmaster was ever more deeply respected and loved.

He was the eldest son of the Rev. Daniel Williams, Fellow of Winchester College, and Sarah, niece of Sir William Blackstone, the celebrated author of the "Commentaries on the Laws of England." He was born in 1786, and had the misfortune to lose his father when quite a boy. He was

^b Why Dr. Williams was so called, I have never been able to discover. I imagine it must have been from the *heartiness* of his character, associated in people's minds with the idea of the old English peasant. But he was so generally spoken of by that appellation, that it sometimes led to awkward complications. I am acquainted with a lady, the relative of many Wykehamists, who fully believed that "Gaffer" was the real name of a Head-master. Visiting Winchester, she found herself one day, at a dinner-party, seated next to Dr. Williams. The name of some relation of hers was mentioned, whom the Doctor claimed as an old pupil. "Why," she exclaimed, looking up into his face in surprise, "he was there in old Gaffer's time!" The Doctor was too polite to let her find out the mistake she had made, but he must have been greatly amused.

sent first to a school at Southampton, and afterwards to Hyde Abbey^c, under Dr. Richards, and had the repute of being the only boy whom that Orbilius never flogged! In 1799 he was admitted as C.F. at Winchester, and in three years reached the top of the school, being advanced to a Fellowship at New College when only sixteen—the earliest age on record of such an election.

Of his school-life little has been reported, beyond the universally-admitted fact that he was in high favour with his school-fellows, no less than with the Masters; his rapid promotion over the heads of his seniors provoking no ill-will, by reason of the modesty and geniality of temper which always distinguished him. Tall, powerful and handsome, he excelled in all games, and was the hero of the cricket-field, no less than of Election Chamber. I have conversed with those who can remember the time when, tall as he was, he could with ease leap his own height.

Little more has been noted of his career at Oxford. It was his peculiar happiness through life, that it was not marked by any striking incidents, consisting only of a calm succession of duties honestly and successfully fulfilled; like some peaceful stream that flows on, ever widening to the sea; broken by no cataracts or rapids; less picturesque it may be for this unvaried sameness, but infinitely more beneficial to mankind. The Honour Schools had been instituted before the date of his final examination for B.A. degree; but New College men had at that time the privilege of being examined for their degree

^c Here he had Dr. Gaisford, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, for his school-fellow, even then renowned as a Greek scholar.

by their own tutors—a right which they did not surrender for nearly forty years afterwards. No one can doubt that his intellectual ability, unwearied diligence, and accurate scholarship, would have secured him the highest honours, had it been open to him to compete for them.

The one thing that is remembered of his undergraduate days, is his resolute and manly self-denial. Though one of the least sordid of human-kind, and fond of all spirited and healthy exercises, he would partake in none of them which would oblige him to spend money. His mother and sister were in comparatively narrow circumstances; and it was his delight to save all that he could from his income, to render them more comfortable. Sir W. Erle relates that he not only maintained himself, and assisted his mother, but provided the whole outfit of his brother when he entered the army, and his maintenance afterwards.

In 1806, being then in his twentieth year, he was appointed one of the Commoner Tutors, and held that post until 1810; when he was elected Second Master. His selection for such an office as this, at such an age, by those who had been continual witnesses of the performance of his duties for four years past, is the highest testimony that could be rendered him. In the year following, he married Miss Goddard, daughter of the Rev. William Goddard, and Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Sloper, belonging to the same family as Dr. Burton, the former Headmaster of Winchester. Mrs. Williams survived her husband several years, and died in 1867. Dr. Williams left one son, the Rev. H. B. Williams, who is Fellow of Winchester, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Rector of Bradford Peverell; and several daugh-

ters, of whom the eldest married the Rt. Hon. Sir W. Erle, late Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the youngest, the Rt. Reverend Bishop Hobhouse.

After fourteen years' service as Hostiarius, Dr. Williams succeeded to the Head-mastership, which he retained till the year 1835; when he resigned it, and was presented by his pupils with his portrait by Pickersgill, (of which a good engraving has been made, and is in possession of great numbers of his pupils), and a silver candelabrum, from an extremely beautiful design by Chantrey. Two years previously to his resignation of the Head-mastership, he had been made Canon of Winchester by Bishop Sumner; and the frequenters of the cathedral, of that day, remember how his full and melodious voice used to roll along the aisles, as he officiated at the altar, or spoke from the pulpit.

In the year 1840, the appointment of Dr. Shuttleworth to the see of Chichester, caused a vacancy in the Wardenship of New College, to which Dr. Williams succeeded. He held the Wardenship during the troublous times of the Oxford Commission; and his wisdom and moderation were of the greatest service to the college at that highly-critical period, though many of the changes made could not but be sorely trying to his loyal and steadfast attachment to Wykeham's time-honoured foundation. In 1854 he was elected one of the members of the new Hebdomadal Council, his name standing at the head of the poll in his particular department. In 1856 he accepted the Vice-Chancellorship, which he held for two years. Those who saw him when presiding in the Sheldonian Theatre at the Encænia, will bear witness that the University chair has never been filled with greater efficiency or dignity.

But his health had begun now visibly, though slowly, to fail. He found himself gradually growing unequal to the work of the Vice-Chancellorship, added to that of the Wardenship of his college. He retired from the former in 1858, his withdrawal everywhere calling forth expressions of the utmost respect and regret. He proved to have been right in his anticipations of his approaching end. But at this, as at all other periods of his life, there was nothing startling or sudden. The stream, which had flowed so peacefully through youth, and middle life, and old age, flowed on peacefully to the last. About a week before his death he had a more distinct warning that the hour was near at hand, which induced him to gather round him the members of his family, all of whom were still living; and on the 22nd of March, 1860, he passed peacefully away, like one of the patriarchs of old, full of years and honour, with the faces of his children round his bed.

He was buried in the ante-chapel of New College, on Wednesday, March 28th. A large gathering of old friends and pupils attended his funeral. One of the most distinguished among them, who has since risen to still greater eminence, has expressed what was the general feeling on that occasion, in terms to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away:—"As I stood by his grave on Wednesday," wrote Lord Selborne, "I could not help thinking that his life had been one of singular completeness; one which Solon (though my thoughts were not of heathen philosophy at that moment) would have pronounced happy. What work can be more noble, more worthy of a good man, than the successful training and government of youth. Within the circle of a single great public

institution (for Wykeham's two colleges are one) this good man went, with success, through every successive stage of duty, and reached the highest attainable eminence of all. Scholar of Winchester; Fellow of New College; Tutor, Under-master, Head-master of Winchester; and, at last, for twenty useful and happy years, Warden of New College:—he was a model Wykehamist indeed, the connecting-link of many generations of Wykehamists: he knew them all, and they all knew him. With what hearty enthusiasm they greeted him upon public occasions, when Wykehamists assembled together—at the Commemorations of the two Colleges, or the Annual Meeting in London! What a void his absence will make! He had their united testimony that he did his work, and that he did it well, in each stage of his duty.”

Many tales are told of his kindly and generous temper, his unwillingness to be hard on his boys for small matters of offence. We used to believe that the white horse—traditionally supposed to have been at Waterloo—which he always rode—how noble he used to look on it, by the way!—we used, I say, to fancy that the *white* horse was especially chosen by him, because its colour enabled us to see it a long way off, and so get out of his way when we chanced to be out of bounds. I have no doubt we were mistaken about that; but our mistake shewed the general feeling entertained by the school as to his indisposition to follow up too closely petty infractions of discipline.

Petty infractions; yes. But we never suspected him of any inclination to ignore real offences, or shun a collision with rebellious tempers, let the consequences have been ever so unwelcome. Those who

witnessed his indignation, when it was fairly roused, will not readily forget it. I remember, on one occasion, a new boy, fresh from his father's parsonage, and, like Chaucer's squire, "modest as a maid," had complained of some coarse brutality to which he had immediately after his arrival been subjected, and the story somehow reached the Doctor's ears. Straight he came down to Commoner Hall, ordered us all to our places, and faced us, like a wounded lion. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed, when he had detailed what had happened, "I am told, that although new boys complain of things like these, they soon get used to them, and think nothing of them. Good God, gentlemen, can this possibly be true!" I can convey no adequate idea of the effect of his words; I only know that it remains as vividly by me, after nearly fifty years, as it did two minutes after they were spoken. On another occasion, a shameful piece of bullying of a little boy by a big one—one of the over-grown brutal louts who especially infest public schools—was reported to him. The burning indignation expressed in the address he made to the assembled school, when he publicly expelled the offender, struck a corresponding chord in the breast of almost every one present. Old school-fellows have referred to it in after years as the most impressive incident of their school lives^d.

^d Yet, notwithstanding the dignity of his presence and address, he had a ready sense of humour. Old school-fellows have complained, in my hearing, that people were always "up to books to him," but they did not know the man. On the occasion of the Wykehamist dinner, soon after his resignation of the Head-mastership, his health was received with extra cordiality, and reference having been made to the successful labours of so many years, he rose to reply. He began by deprecating any great compliments to his success, on the ground that he had had such excellent pupils, that he could not but succeed. "When I remember," he said, "the materials I had to work

There was a tenderness in him also which was almost womanly; as, indeed, is generally the case with the manliest natures. "His tenderness towards me," says Canon Argles, "on an occasion of deep sorrow, I can never forget." Twice during my school career there was a death in Commoners; and his distress on both occasions was more like that of a parent for a dear child, than the regret usually felt towards those with whom we have only the ordinary business relations of life.

There never was any rebellion, or any attempt at one, that I ever heard of, during his Head-mastership. I don't think the boy lived, who could have looked him in the face and refuse to obey him. But there were troubles nevertheless in his time, mainly arising from the differences between Præfects and Inferiors. I have already pointed out (in Chap. vii.) how defective was the constitution in Commoners, how insecure the tenure of Præfectorial power, compared with what it was in College. Under Dr. Williams, there were two serious fracas from this cause. The first of these took place in 1827. The four boys called "Senior Inferiors" were in Sixth Book, and

upon"—he was interrupted by a general burst of merriment. He looked round a moment in surprise, and then catching the meaning of the interruption, added, with a merry twinkle in his eye—"the materials, gentlemen, mental *as well as bodily*—I cannot take to myself any great credit," &c.

° I should not like, anyhow, to have been the boy who attempted it. He was not, after all, without his weaknesses, and one of these was a warmth of temper, which impertinence was very apt to call forth. I remember one of my compeers arousing the lion, considerably to his own detriment. He had lost three places up at books for some alleged false concord; and persuaded that he was right, and the Doctor wrong, carried up an Ainsworth to the latter, to prove the point in his favour. He was received with "Do you bandy words with me, Sir!" and a swinging "clo," which sent him back, Ainsworth and all, to his place again.

did precisely the same lessons as the Præfects, competing for the Medals and other prizes, and having the power of fagging Juniors, only under certain restrictions. They did not call "here," like the Commoner, but "junior," like the College Præfects; and they were only allowed to employ a junior's services at meal-times, when there were four fags on "Hall." It is no wonder that machinery so clumsy as this got out of gear.

One evening, a dispute arose about a fag, whom one of the Senior Inferiors had called "off Hall;" but whom the Præfects, possibly mistaking the numbers on the fagging-form, ordered to disobey the summons. The Inferior was thought to have exceeded his powers, though it would appear that he had not done so. On being taken to task, however, by the Senior Præfect, and struck in the face, he returned the blow. A fight began; but the other Præfects interfered, and insisted that the Inferior should be tunded for striking a Præfect. A severe tunding was accordingly administered with a cricket-stump, the first stick that came to hand^f; by which its recipient was seriously injured, though that was not suspected at the time.

Presently the affair reached the ears of the Headmaster; but he knew nothing of the punishment and injury that had been sustained, and only heard of the opposition to the authority of the Præfects. For this he required the offender, as he regarded him, to make a public apology to the Præfects, or submit to a Bibling. The former alternative having been

^f A good deal has been said about this circumstance; but it should be remembered that the cricket-stump of those days was not the heavy, round, club-like stump it is now. It was much thinner, and oval-shaped, hardly thicker than an ordinary walking-stick.

declined, the flogging was inflicted. It was not until the following day that it was discovered that one of the tendons of the boy's leg had been broken by a blow from the cricket-stump. The wound, however, soon healed, and no permanent injury was sustained. The boys shook hands soon afterwards, and perfect amity was restored. This affair has more than once found its way into the papers, and has been much misrepresented. So far as the boys are concerned, both parties, no doubt, honestly believed themselves to have been in the right, and the blame must rest on the absurd system of government which then prevailed in Commoners. As regards Dr. Williams, we may be assured, that had he been aware of the injury which the Inferior had received, he would have acted differently. But he knew of nothing, except that resistance had been offered to the authority of the Præfects, which he uniformly made it a point resolutely to uphold.

Again, in 1829, there was a still more serious disturbance. It chanced in that year that the whole of the eight Commoner Præfects were exceptionally small, and weak in person; nor were any of them good cricketers, or football players, or endued with any of the qualities which usually give boys prestige in the eyes of their school-fellows. There were at the same time a considerable number of big Inferiors, especially in the lower forms of the school. One of these, a lad of sixteen, in Junior Part of Fifth, emboldened by his size and his popularity with his school-fellows, refused to go "on Hall^s" (as the phrase

* No doubt he thought he had a right to refuse. It had never before been the practice for Junior Part to "go on Hall;" but by slow degrees Fourth Book had so dwindled in numbers, that there were not enough to do the work; and therefore the class

was), and when sent for by the Senior Præfect, would not obey the summons. The latter resolved to tunc him for his contumacy; but the moment he attempted this, a rush was made by the Juniors at him, holding his arms, and clinging like a swarm of bees about him. The other Præfects ran up to the rescue, and one of them tried to hold the offender; but the *melec* in Hall became general, and they were unable to put it down. The Senior Inferiors and Senior Part boys, who held them cheap, would give them no help. Ultimately, they were obliged to repair to the Doctor's study to seek redress, the Senior Præfect's coat hanging about him, all rags and tatters. Dr. Williams interposed promptly and vigorously. He expelled six of the ringleaders, and flogged the others. The brother of one of those expelled, Sir Alexander Malet, appealed to the Head-master against the sentence, representing that it was not simply rebellion on the part of the Juniors, but that the latter had at least believed that constitutional right was on their side. Nothing could be more gentlemanly than Sir Alexander's letters, or more courteous than Dr. Williams's reply^h; but he continued as firm as in the former instance, in his refusal to reverse the sentence he had passed.

But though the authority of the Præfects was firmly upheld, he thought it necessary to take some steps to prevent the recurrence of the evils, which he had twice been required to set right. Doubtless he perceived (what has already been noticed), that the number of Præfects was too small for the control

immediately above them were pressed into the service. They fancied the Præfects had no power to do this; but they were quite wrong.

^h See Appendix.

of one-hundred-and-thirty boys. He accordingly increased them to twelve, abolishing the office of "Senior Inferior," and making the four, who had hitherto held it, Præfects insteadⁱ. He also considered that the Præfects had not been without blame in the affair of the outbreak; and he shewed his sense of this, by withholding from them at the end of the half-year the leaving books, which he was in the almost invariable habit of bestowing; and this notwithstanding that they were, in respect both of ability and industry, perhaps the most brilliant cluster of pupils ever found in a public school^k.

Thus much of Dr. Williams as a disciplinarian. Considered as a teacher—"we knew him," writes Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, "to be a first-rate scholar; not perhaps thoroughly versed in the *minutiae* of classical philology, but in carefulness of observation, in retentiveness of memory, and in exquisite refinement and delicacy of taste, surpassed by none." "No man ever penetrated more deeply into the spirit of classical authors," adds Lord Selborne; "a man of finer taste, or a truer perception of the principles of beauty in ancient or modern literature, or more skilful in imparting the arts of criticism and composition to his scholars, never presided over a public school." He was, in truth, a most inspiring

ⁱ Twelve continued to be the number until 1848, when Dr. Moberly added six more, bringing the number up to that of the College Præfects.

^k They were, (1.) Ward, a high classman, 1834, and the well-known author of the "Ideal of a Christian Church;" (2.) Tindal, (of whom I can learn nothing); (3.) Gaselee, (double first classman, 1833); (4.) Lowe, (first and second classman, Chancellor of the Exchequer); (5.) Palmer, (Ireland scholar, first classman, 1834, prizeman, Lord Chancellor); (6.) Abraham (first and second classman, 1834). Cardwell, (double first classman, 1835, Cabinet Minister), was either one of the eight, or very near them in the school.

teacher. "Do it with vigour, Sir," he would say, when he had set a boy on to construe; and the pleased expression of his face, and the gracious bend of his head, when a phrase was well-turned, or a word aptly rendered, stimulated many a boy to acquire a facility of translation, which he afterwards found highly serviceable at the University; while the dissatisfaction stamped on his fine features, when a grand passage was baldly or wrongly translated, and the abrupt, "Go to your place, Sir," were consequences few liked to encounter. The phrase which sometimes followed, when his indignation was more than commonly stirred, "You great blockhead," was a decoration of dishonour, apt to adhere for some time to those on whom it was bestowed.

The religious teaching of the school under him is a far more difficult subject to handle, yet one which cannot honestly be shunned—the more so, because there exists a wide-spread belief, that not only have the modes of religious instruction undergone a radical change, but that religious influences now largely affect the daily lives of public schoolboys, which were formerly totally unknown to them. "A striking change,"—so writes one of the highest authorities who could handle this subject,—"*a striking change has come over our public schools, a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately, who has not known them at both these times*¹." This change, briefly summed up, is found to consist simply in this—that whereas public schools were utterly godless *before* a certain date, they were and are more or less religious *after* it. Is this so? was there no genuine religious teaching on the part of the Masters,

¹ Stanley's Life of Arnold, vol. i. p. 172.

no genuine religion among the boys, before Dr. Arnold's time^m?

Well, as regards externals, it *is* to a great extent true. During the old state of things, boys did not kneel at their bed-sides in private prayer. I never saw a boy do it during the whole of my public school-days. The attendance at the Holy Communion was compulsory, as regarded Sixth Book, and none below it could attend at all. There was no attempt to prepare boys for Confirmation, beyond suggesting certain books for perusal. Little attention was paidⁿ to the chapel and cathedral services: the boys lounged and gossiped (when unobserved) through the prayers, and read amusing books during the sermon.

Under the new *régime*, it was a common thing to see boys kneeling by their beds in prayer: any boy who had been confirmed might communicate, and though none were obliged to do so, continued absence was made the subject of inquiry and admonition; the greatest pains were taken in preparing catechumens, and with marked effect; decency of behaviour was observed during the prayers; the boys listened, often with close attention, to the sermons preached to them.

These were great gains to the cause of religion—safeguards to the weak, help to the struggling, guidance to the perplexed, warning to the careless. A Master might well be thankful that they had

^m Mr. Ward states this broadly in his "Ideal of a Christian Church:" others have said the same more or less plainly. Mr. Hughes appears to imply as much, at all events.

ⁿ "If you wish to learn to write Latin Hexameters thoroughly well," said a Præfect famous for his 'Composition' to a friend who had just got into Senior Part Fifth, "get a Virgil bound like a Prayer-book, and study it regularly in chapel!"

been vouchsafed in his time. But they only prove the prevalence of a better system, not that there had been no teaching of any value before; and still less do they shew that there had been previously no personal religion in the school. For the things above spoken of, though precious aids to religion, are not religion itself; any more than careful drill, strict discipline, and a complete supply of the munitions of war, are efficiency in the field. There were as brave men in the hosts of Cassivellaunus, as in the ranks of Cæsar. It would be most unjust to say that because they lacked the Roman discipline, the Britons were not stout soldiers, or their leader was unable to infuse into them a martial spirit.

Setting aside, for the time, the consideration of the religious state of the school in Dr. Williams's day (which belongs more properly to another chapter), let us speak of Dr. Williams himself as a religious teacher. Undoubtedly he did not pursue the same method as is now in vogue. It was not the habit in public schools of his day^o, nor had it been for many generations past, to deal personally with each individual conscience. It was not the habit of the clergy generally. "The schoolmaster of that day," so writes one of Dr. Williams's best pupils, "was not the spiritual director. He would

^o I may here quote the evidence of one of Dr. Goddard's pupils, who is still living. "There was no religious teaching at all (in Dr. Goddard's time). For Confirmation the preparation was almost nil, and the Bishop (Huntingford) gave no Confirmation charge." Dr. Gabell did deliver pre-communion lectures, in conformity with ancient practice, but his teaching may be judged by the following anecdote:—"In Holy-week, Grotius de Veritate was the text-book. One day, when they came on a quotation from Ovid, Dr. Gabell sighed a great groan of relief, and said, 'Ah, this is like some fresh oasis in a great desert; let us rest in it, and not get again into this barbarous stuff!'"

have shrunk from the task", not from indifference, but because the submission of the individual conscience to personal direction, was no part of the then system." Public opinion has undergone a change on this subject, and, I do not dispute, for the better. But it should be remembered, that it is possible to do at least as much mischief by interfering too much with the conscience, as by interfering too little.

Dr. Williams taught according to the habit of the times, in which he had himself been educated. Whatever verdict may be pronounced on that, is not personal to him. But no man ever taught more faithfully, according to what he accounted the true mode of teaching—general precept, that is, rendered real by personal example^a; and no man, I dare add, ever taught with greater effect. I do not believe any boy ever passed under his teaching without

^a But Dr. Williams would not have shrunk from it, had it been *required* of him. "I consulted him," says the writer quoted above (he was not eighteen at the time), "on my fitness to communicate on the following Sunday, in consequence of my having become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Whether I knew what it meant, or what amount of coxcombrty there may have been in the confession, I will not say. But nothing could be kinder than Dr. Williams's reception of it. He took down several divinity volumes, and spread them open on the table. 'You can read these,' he said, 'if you think fit; and should they fail to satisfy you, I can supply you with others, which go into the question more fully. Observe,' he added, 'I only say, *if you think fit*. I do not impose it as a condition of your attendance at the service. If you come with the disposition required by the Church, you will not come amiss, though you may have some unsettled ideas about Transubstantiation.' Here was the man,—kind, wise, large-hearted, looking to practical realities; anxious for his pupil's spiritual good, but anxious above all that his convictions should be *his own*, not those of his master."

^a I do not mean to imply that there was no direct religious teaching. There was always some, and he added more. I remember his introducing the reading of a portion of the New Testament every day, followed by Girdlestone's Commentary, he himself adding his own remarks.

feeling its influence. Who ever watched his demeanour during any religious service, without acknowledging the genuineness of his piety? Who ever heard him speak of sacred things, and use holy names—which, though not fond of doing, he never hesitated to do, when occasion called for it—without being struck by the depth of his reverence? What boy ever dared to hint at anything profane in his presence? His daily life displayed before our eyes, was a rebuke to the thoughtless and sinful, a help and encouragement to those who strove after better things. What sermon, or admonition in private, was ever more potent?

Withal he was a sound and loyal Churchman, though that word on his lips might not mean all that others mean by it. “The difference of Winchester from other schools,” says the Bishop of Lincoln, “consisted, I think, in this, that Winchester relied more on its principles—on the system which had nurtured Bishop Ken,—than on the personal influence of the master. It was a Church of England school. We had our daily service in the chapel. We had the special order of the Church for festivals and holydays. We had our Founder’s days too, and our hearts were stirred by the memory of our Wykehamical ancestry for five hundred years.”

So speaks one who has proved, in his own life, the truth of his own words. After all, in judging the value of any man’s teaching, there is no test so fair as that of actual result. Compare Dr. Williams according to this criterion then, with the great *prophètes* of the system, which is supposed to contrast so advantageously with his own—Dr. Arnold. Both these Head-masters had among their pupils many men who have risen to great eminence in literature

and public life, exercising a wide influence on their generation. Among those of Dr. Williams's during his tenure of office as Head and Under-master, may be numbered the Bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, Lords Hatherley and Selborne, Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester, Sir William Heathcote and W. Sewell. These men have embraced widely-different views in politics, and pursued wholly different lines in life. But one and all have been conspicuously faithful, as Churchmen, to their early training; while the only conspicuous Wykehamist of the day who has been disloyal to his Church, has been equally disloyal to his school^r. Take the seven most distinguished scholars of Dr. Arnold, and say whether — brilliant as may have been the success of the Poet, the Essayist, and the Preacher — there has not been in several instances at least a tampering with unbelief; and in others, alas! an open profession of it^s.

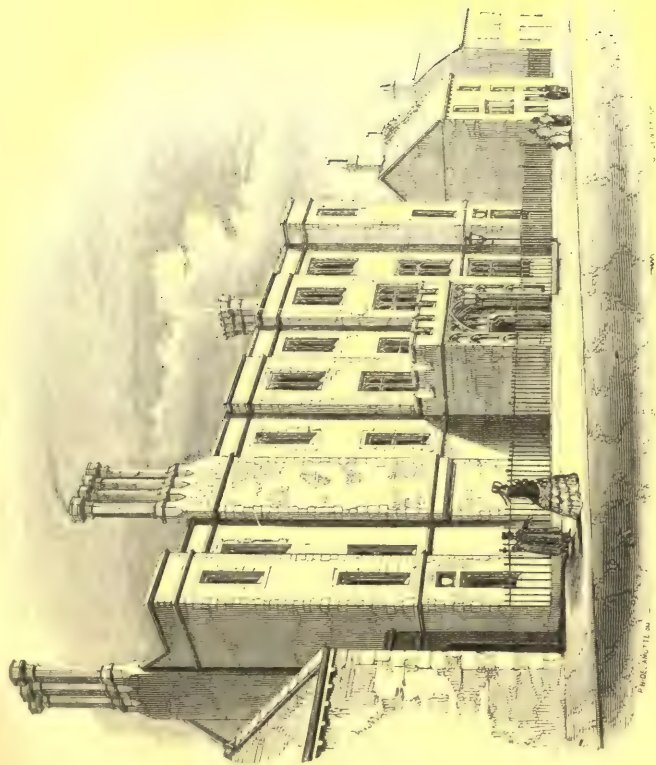
^r See Mr. Ward's attack on Winchester in the "Ideal of a Christian Church."

^s Among Dr. Williams's more distinguished pupils, besides those mentioned above, may be reckoned Lords Cardwell, Lyons and Penzance, Archdeacon Grant, Bishop Merriman, John Wordsworth, and Hugh Birley, M.P. for Manchester.

CHAPTER XII.

DR. MOBERLY.—OLD COMMONERS.

DR. WILLIAMS'S resignation was tendered in the summer of 1835, and the Rev. George Moberly, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, was chosen to fill the vacancy. The latter was born at St. Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1803, and obtained a nomination to Winchester College in 1816. Here he remained six years, acquiring the sound and accurate Greek scholarship which ever distinguished him; and having for his school-fellows, among others, John Wordsworth, Sir Edmund Head, and William Sewell. Like so many others of eminent ability, he failed to attain New College, and in 1822 entered as a Commoner at Balliol College. He took a first-class in Classics at Easter, 1825, his year being the one in which the old "second class under the line" was exchanged for the third class of the present arrangement. In the following year he obtained the Chancellor's prize for an English Essay on the subject, "Is a rude or a refined age more favourable to the production of works of fiction?" In the same year, 1826, he was elected to a Fellowship at his own college, the Tutorship of which he held for many years—contributing to raise its renown to the eminence which it has ever since retained. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Legge in 1826, and priest by Bishop Lloyd in 1828. He held the office of Public Examiner in 1830 and 1833; and of Select Preacher in 1833, 1858, and 1863. He took the degree of D.C.L. in 1836.



Head Master's House.—Dr. Moberly first occupant.

On Dec. 22, 1834, he married Miss Mary Anne Crokat, eldest daughter of Thomas Crokat, Esq., merchant, of Leghorn; by whom he has had fifteen children, of whom twelve are still living. Of the sons, one is Rector of Duntstorne Rous, Gloucestershire, and Editor of Bede's Ecclesiastical History; and another Senior Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Principal of the Salisbury Diocesan College. Of the daughters, one is the wife of the Warden of Radley; and another of the Rev. William Awdry, Head-master of St. John's, Hurstpierpoint.

At the beginning of 1836, Dr. Moberly entered on the duties of the Head-mastership, a post which he retained for no less a period than thirty-one years; when he resigned it, and was elected Fellow of Winchester. At the same time he was appointed Rector of Brighthelm, in the Isle of Wight, by Bishop Sumner. In 1868, he preached the Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford, and soon afterwards was collated to a Canonry of Chester, by Bishop Jacobson. In the following year he attained the eminence, so long anticipated for him by his friends; being made Bishop of Salisbury by Mr. Gladstone, on the decease of the lamented Bishop Hamilton.

His literary works, which are numerous, but almost exclusively theological, consist of "Practical Sermons" (1838); "Sermons at Winchester College," (two series) 1844-48; "The Sayings of the Great Forty Days," (1844), (his great work, which has been widely used as a theological text-book); "The Law of the Love of God" (1854); "Sermons on the Beatitudes" (1860); "The Bampton Lectures on the Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Church" (1868); "Sermons at Brighthelm" (1869); and several Episcopal Charges. He is also the author of five

admirable letters to Sir William Heathcote, "On the Studies and Discipline of Public Schools" (1861).

To speak during his lifetime of a man's personal character, or to criticise his tenure of a public station, is a delicate and difficult office for any one to undertake; more especially where the writer is one who owes him much gratitude. I feel that I can only chronicle the occurrences of Dr. Moberly's Head-mastership, and write of it in such terms as the general opinion of Wykehamists has endorsed. He found, I have been told, more than the usual difficulties which beset the path of a Head-master, when newly-elected to his office. This was, no doubt, in a great measure due to the fact, that he had passed through none of the subordinate offices; as his predecessors, without exception, had done for many generations. Boys always resent the introduction of anything entirely new, with a persistency of Toryism which might put the late Colonel Sibthorpe to shame. The Præfects in particular are slow to bend their necks to a new yoke. One of these, a most estimable Irish nobleman, gave his Informator an amount of annoyance, which, I doubt not, he has remembered with compunction in after years. On one occasion this youth appeared at lesson with a large bouquet in his button-hole; which he justified on the ground that "it was St. Patrick's day." Being told that such a display could not be permitted, though there might have been no objection to his wearing a single flower, he made his *entrée* in the afternoon of the same day, with a sun-flower in his coat as big as a small cheese-plate, and completely hiding his shirt-front. It must have been a sore trial of the new Head-master's patience; but he was wise enough to bide his time, and before long

brought the school into the discipline, from which there never was any real attempt to break loose during the long period of his government.

In the third year after his accession to office, it was resolved to take a step which had long been in contemplation, and entirely remove the existing Commoners, substituting for it one more suitable for the requirements of the day. It was an unfortunate time for such an undertaking. The architectural taste of the country had reached its very lowest point, and the remarkable revival which followed, had not yet begun to be felt—at all events, not in Winchester. New Commoners was designed after the very straitest school of Georgian ugliness. All who beheld it, from the time of its completion in 1840 to its transformation in 1870, like a dissolving view in a magic-lantern, to its present Elizabethan aspect, will agree that the heart of man never brought forth anything more irredeemably hideous. But before the old building is pulled down, we must do, what we have not yet done,—give a full and particular description of it.

And first, good reader, let me ask,—“Were *you* in Old Commoners?” I do not say, “Are you a public schoolman, or a Wykehamist, or were you in Commoners?” though, if you are any of these three, this book will, I should hope, have some interest for you ;—but “Were you in *Old* Commoners?” Have you sat on “Commoner seat,” which stood, you will remember, midway under the wall of “Warden’s Stables,” before the hurricane of 1836 blew down four, out of the five, elms, which formed the main glory and grace of Old Commoner Court—a cynic might say its *only* glory, but I am not a cynic. Were you the owner of one of the cupboards ycleped “toys,” painted

with black, or red, or green sealing-wax, as your own taste, or that of your predecessor, might have ordained? Have you before your mind's eye a vivid image of Old Commoner Hall, with its parti-coloured wainscoting as above described, its large round-headed windows, its dingy walls, whereunto, as the half-year advanced, triangular pats of butter and other missiles were wont to adhere? Do you remember its four ventilators—"spiracula Ditis"—in the ceiling, and the iron hoop, with its four tallow-candles, depending therefrom, liberally dispensing its showers of grease on the heads of the juniors seated at the long table below, whensoever a breeze from the door, or the broken windows (whereof, summer and winter, there was an abundant store), or haply some missile from below, set it into motion? Were you one of a crowd that was wont to wriggle, like maggots in a cheese, at Commoner Gate, shouting for "jerrikins," or "hot rolls and coffee," or "young potatoes," or, "three-half-penny oranges," according to the season of the year, dispensed by Raymond, and La Croix's boy? Have you run into "Præfects' study" in fear and trembling, when you had made the discovery, all in a moment, that you were "junior in court," and had been informed that one of the denizens of that awful chamber had "rapped three times," and were advised earnestly, though somewhat needlessly, "to funk?" Did you experience the reasonableness, if not the charity, of that advice, by getting half-a-dozen sharpish cuts with a ground-ash over your shoulders, in order to quicken your faculties for the future? Worse than this, have you witnessed, with bated breath and rooted gaze, a "tunding^a at the top of Hall?" Have you seen

^a See Glossary on the word.

a school-fellow's coat and waistcoat cut to ribbons under the terrible ground-ash? Have you yourself been commanded, it may be by a boy smaller than yourself, to "stand round," and were you conscious of having no more power to disobey, than the patient, over whom an electro-biologist is exerting his sway? Have you been set down with a "long fork," to toast for a Praefect in front of a roaring fire, until you were in a condition to be served up at table along with the slices of toast? Have you been "nailed" by course-keeper, that Triton of the Minnows, on a bitter December day, to "kick in" at football,—one of a double line of shivering wretches, whose circulation was wont occasionally to be restored by having the ball driven forcibly into their faces, or receiving half-a-dozen stinging "clos^b," for having allowed it to pass between their legs? Have you thundered at "Hatch," and "pledged" your neighbour with the "jorum^c," or "cut with him for grub^d, third line on the right-hand side?" Have you seen an unfortunate wight "stuck up" on pealing-days, and pelted him with "pontos?" Were you put to sleep in "Twelve-bedded room," that centre of mischief, dreaded of tutors? or "New room," where the rats held dominion, or Lower Hall Gallery or "Cock-loft," where there was just room for the beds to stand side by side, and the ceiling high enough for a tallish boy to escape knocking his head against it, but no whit more; where chimneys and ventilators, and so many cubic feet to each inmate, were things as little thought of as they are among the Esquimaux or the Ojibbeway Indians? If these things be familiar to you, then you are the man I want: others may read me, but you

^b See Glossary on the word.^c Ibid.^d Ibid.

will understand me. Come, old associate of more than forty years ago, together let us "turn our sail up the stream of time,"

"And view the fairy scenes of long-lost hours,
Blessed with far greener shades, far fresher flowers."

To begin with the quarter from which almost all Commoners beheld it for the first time, the front-age looking on College-street. This consisted in the first place of the old house, known to us as "Wickham's," which abutted on the mechanics' workshops at the north-west corner of the outer court of the college, and which (as the reader learned in Chapter vii.) had once been the chapel of the ancient Sustern Spytal. This latter had not been pulled down and rebuilt by its first tenant, as its appearance might have induced those who saw it to fancy: nor by any subsequent occupant. There is no trace of any such procedure to be found in the various leases^e, which continue, to a comparatively late period, to speak of it as the "Spytal Chapel." The latter was a rather low structure, and its alteration to a dwelling-house was effected by removing the roof, inserting a door and larger windows in the basement, and adding two storeys to it. Mr. Wickham (grandfather of the present medical attendant of the college), from whom the house in recent times received its name, resided in it during the latter part of the eighteenth, and a year or so of the present, century. When he quitted it, it was tenanted awhile by Mr. Bower, the writing and ciphering master, and again for some time it stood empty. A singular fact is recorded of it at this period. When Sir Francis Burdett was committed to the Tower for treason

* For a list of these tenants, see Appendix to Chapter vii.

in March 1810, Sir T. Lethbridge, who had had the hardihood to move his committal, was for some time in considerable danger of rough usage from the baronet's adherents. He had to fly from London to Winchester, and lay *perdu* in "Wickham's" for several days. Those who remember the old rambling place, full of closets, and recesses, and holes under staircases, will agree that he might have remained there undiscovered for a twelvemonth.

When Dr. Gabell succeeded to the Head-mastership, he annexed this old house to his own, breaking a way through the party-wall, and converting the first-floor to the use of his own household. I have been informed that the children's nursery was situated in the rooms thus appropriated. I imagine its inmates had but little idea that their lessons or sports were being carried on over the spot where, in ancient days, the voices of the "Nursing Sisters" were wont to be raised in prayer.

Beneath the rooms occupied by the Head-master's family was the entrance-passage, the kitchens tenanted by the Doctor's coachman, and the rooms assigned to one of the Commoner Tutors. Of those used by the boys, mention will be made by-and-by.

Contiguous to "Wickham's," to the west, was the Head-master's house built by Dr. Burton; a red brick tenement, with sash-windows. It occupied a frontage of some forty feet (the length of "Wickham's" was sixty). The dining and drawing rooms faced the street, the latter having a bow-window. At the north-west corner of the house a long narrow alley led down to Commoner Gate, the sole entrance to the courtyard. Through this portal tutors, boys, visitors, tradesmen, workmen, were admitted. This was the only place where the friends

and relatives of the boys could see and converse with them. Here the two licensed pastry-cooks, Raymond and La Croix, were wont to take their stand, like military commissaries in a besieged town dispensing food to starving multitudes; endeavouring, each with one pair of hands, to supply the simultaneous demands of a host of applicants, who hustled, shouted and scrambled, as though the extremity of famine had indeed befallen them. Here too, on dark evenings, unlicensed commodities for the Præfects' suppers found ingress—how, I am unable to say, for the large jars containing the sausages and mashed potatoes (the favourite vanity) could not possibly have been passed between the bars. *N'importe*; get in they did, and Argus himself could not have kept them out.

The barrier passed, the new-comer found himself in what was somewhat poetically termed by T. Warton (but T. Warton *was* a poet), "a spacious quadrangular building," but what less-gifted minds would probably have described as a "rather dingy-looking courtyard." To the right lay the "commodious cloister," which he also celebrates,—a covered brick passage with a series of round-headed arches, extending perhaps 80 feet southwards, and affording a dry place of shelter during rain; adjoining this was a ball-court, lying over against the blank wall of the Doctor's study. Hand-fives was sometimes played here; but more commonly the long thin bat, peculiar (I believe) to the place, was used by the players. This drove the "snack" (as the small tennis-ball was called) with the force of a catapult: and as, by a beneficent arrangement, Commoner-gate, with its crowd of boys swarming thick round it, lay directly in front of the players, it not unfrequently

happened that one of the first-named received, all of a moment, a smart stinging blow in the rear, or possibly on the back of his skull, from a fives' ball, taking away, for the time at all events, the appetite he was anxious to satisfy. One might have expected that some objection would be raised to this peculiar construction of the premises; but I never remember its calling forth even so much as a remark. What did it signify? The boy who had been hit stamped up and down again for a minute or two, or rubbed the back of his head ruefully, and then—straightway forgot all about it.

On the south side of the courtyard lay the ancient, smoke-stained brick building, whilom the Spytal. The frontage facing the court had certainly been rebuilt in comparatively modern times, probably those of Charles II., if the appearance of the windows was to be trusted; but a good deal of the old material had been worked in again. In the middle of the façade was a wide doorway, surmounted by a pediment in the same style as the windows. A narrow passage lay beyond it, to the right of which were the mysterious precincts known as "Hatch;" and to the left, the Præfects' and Tutors' studies. "Hatch" was a sort of pantry, with a closed wooden window containing a wicket, secured by a bar. Any boy who required the ministration of one of the Commoner servants (of whom there were three, and a major-domo), would hammer against this wicket with any implement that might come to hand, shouting "ha-atch," "ha-a-atch," "ha-a-a-atch," with a peculiar and not melodious intonation; until, from very weariness, the face of "Billy Etherege," or "Target," or "Parson Eldridge," or "Crowe" (suc-

cessive major-domos), would present itself at the opening.

The narrow passage opposite gave access to the Præfects' study on the left hand, and the Tutors' study immediately before you. The first-named was a low-pitched room, it might be twelve feet square, with two windows, a corner fireplace, six office-desks assigned to the six senior Præfects, and a large book-case against the east wall, with a somewhat scant array of ragged volumes. Here sat the Præpostors, like Tennyson's Epicurean gods, "beside their nectar," undisturbed by the turmoil of the world around them, only concerning themselves with it when they needed the ministrations of some junior. Then they would rap on the window-frame, as Aladdin rubbed his lamp, and straightway, with an alacrity which might have rivalled that of the Afrit *génie*, a boy would respond to the summons. I doubt whether in any gentleman's family a footman could be induced to occupy a den so close, dark and dingy, as this same Præfects' study. Yet I remember when it was in my eyes as an enchanted palace; to which they who could gain admission, had reached a haven where no trouble could evermore mar their enjoyment. The Tutors' study adjoining was a much larger apartment, having four windows and a wide fireplace. Here the three Commoner Tutors overlooked their pupils' exercises; and, at certain times, heard the afternoon lesson construed before the boys went into school.

Beyond the studies, a passage turning to the left led to "Commoner Hall." This has been still more euphemistically described by T. Warton as "a noble hall, fifty feet in length, and thirty in breadth."

These, no doubt, were the dimensions, and it was probably some twenty feet high; but in what its "nobility" consisted it would be hard to say. It was certainly not in right of its architectural beauty. The ceiling was flat, unrelieved by cornice; the walls were pierced by large round-headed windows, containing squares of glass. There were two wide fireplaces in the wall opposite, all as bare of ornament as any cotton factory. The room was wainscoted, so to speak, with cupboards, known in Wykehamical phrase as "toys^f." They were fastened against the wall about two feet or more from the ground, and were themselves some three feet in height. Each contained a book-case with three shelves, and a bureau below; the flap of which, when opened, rested on two small strips which drew out from below, and formed an *escritoire*. The boys were allowed to colour these cupboards after their own fancies; and, as might have been expected, they displayed a great variety in their appearance. As oil-paint would have been an annoyance to their neighbours, the decorators were obliged, by the sumptuary laws of the place, to employ a composition which I have seldom seen used elsewhere. It consisted of sealing-wax dissolved in spirits of wine. The composition dried almost instantly, and had little or no smell.

A long, narrow table ran down the whole centre of the Hall, at which the juniors, some forty or fifty, for whom no toys were provided in Hall, were wont to sit during "Toy" and "Bookschamber times^g." The same table served the senior boys for their meals; the rest being accommodated at moveable

^f See Glossary on word.

^g Ibid.

slabs placed on trestles, brought in before every repast from a dark closet lying between the Hall and Tutors' study.

Leaving the Hall, and turning through a doorway on the left, you come into a small court, known as "Conduit court," at the further end of which was the gate leading into college. To the right of this was "Conduit," the sole lavatory and "tiring-room" of the boys during the day. After a football game between "twenty-two and twenty-two," on a muddy day, or a "charge" across the water-meadows after the badger, this conduit, which might have been five feet square, had to accommodate forty boys or so, in every conceivable or inconceivable state of dirt and perspiration. Faces and hands had to be wiped on two roller-towels, suspended against the walls. The condition of these, when the general toilet had been accomplished, was wont (as the penny-a-liners say) to "beggar description." Behind the Conduit was another and larger court, to which the boys were not admitted^b. It contained the offices and cellars, and communicated directly with Hatch, the Kitchen, and Servants' Hall.

Returning to the passage outside Commoner Hall, and turning to the left, the visitor ascended a staircase projecting from the face of the building, which led to what was called Conduit Gallery, giving access to the rooms on the first floor, as well as, by staircases at either end, to the two principal ranges of bed-rooms. This gallery, constructed of flint, was the most ancient part of the building. The three deep embayed windows shewed the great thickness of the walls, and their narrow lancet-

^b Excepting those who slept in New Room. See further on.

heads might well date from times when the Early English style was still in use. Out of this passage opened the room sacred to the Matron, a worthy woman enough in my time, though with an uncertainty as regarded her h's which was sometimes embarrassing. In my recollection, there were two boys, named "Attfield" and "Hatfield," both of them frequent offenders against the law; and when the good dame requested the Præfect in course to take up either of their names for punishment, he was sorely puzzled how to act. It was, in general, tolerably safe to understand her by contraries, i.e. when she said "Attfield," to understand "Hatfield" to be meant, and *vice versa*; but this rule did not always apply, and sometimes the saddle was fitted to the wrong horse. However, as both boys in general deserved punishment,—if not for the offence charged on them, at all events for something else,—no great injustice was done.

Next to her sitting apartment was the "Continentⁱ Room," in the language of ordinary mortals the "sick room." It is to be feared that a stiff Homer lesson, or a difficult subject for a verse-task, had sometimes more to do with a boy's "indisposition," than wounds or fever. In "Middle Commoners^j," the Præfects, not being provided with a study, applied to the Head-master to give them one. The Doctor enquired, "What room was there that could be so used?" They at first answered the "store-room," proposing that the stores should be kept under the stairs. The inconvenience of this being pointed out, they next named the "Matron's.

ⁱ See Glossary on word.

^j The temporary buildings, in which the boys were lodged during the progress of the work.

room," she being relegated to her bed-room, as her sitting apartment. Informed that the Matron would probably object to this arrangement, they suggested the "Continent Room;" and on being required to say what was to become of the sick boys? replied, that it was notorious that there was never anything the matter with them!

Without endorsing this opinion in its entirety, I think it may be said that the maladies of the continent-boys were sometimes not so serious, but what they might have gone into school without injury. I remember once the medical man going down to Sick-house at an unusual hour, and finding the whole of the "invalids" engaged in a hot game at foot-ball! Also I recall that on one occasion one of the Commoner servants came to me with a complaint that his fingers suffered sorely from the missiles of the continent-boys, whose window—through a considerate care for their amusement during the tedious hours of sickness—had been so arranged as to be immediately opposite his boot-house. He was engaged in polishing the shoes, and his fingers, seen in relief against the dark leather, proved a tempting mark for coals, and stones, and the like projectiles. I sent for the culprits, who pleaded two excuses,—first, that they "really did not know that the man disliked it!" and secondly, that "from time immemorial, it had always been the custom for the continent-boys to pelt the shoe-blacks while at work!"

To the right of Conduit Gallery lay a mysterious region, called "Linen Gallery," presided over by the Matron and her attendant nymphs. Here applications were wont to be made by those who had sustained damage, either in person or apparel. Black eyes were fomented; cuts and scratches dressed;

rents in jackets and trousers patched up. Occasionally, when a boy had rendered his linen absolutely unfit for the public eye, a clean shirt was grudgingly dealt out. In this gallery lay "lower continent room," a name associated in the minds of the boys with very uncomfortable ideas, few being transferred to it unless in a state of imminent danger. In general, boys who were sickening for measles, or scarlet fever, or the like, remained in their bedrooms, and the other occupants ran their chance of taking the infection. I suppose the "sanatoriums" and "hospitals" now attached to almost all our great schools—whereby a boy is removed from the society of his fellows the moment that any suspicion arises of his having any infectious malady, must have a material effect on the health of schools. All I can say is, that such precautions were little thought of in my day, yet we managed to rub on, as we thought, comfortably enough.

At the two ends of "Conduit Gallery" were the staircases leading to "Hall" and "Cloister" galleries, the two chief ranges of bedrooms—there being an "upper" and a "lower" suite in each. Each of the four accommodated on an average some two-and-twenty boys. In the two "Cloister galleries," and in "Upper Hall gallery," the rooms were of a reasonable height, with sash windows of a fair size. In "Lower Hall gallery" they were low-pitched, with small dormer casements. In none were there chimneys or ventilators of any kind.

Descending again to the court by which he first entered, the new-comer had before him, first that portion of the Head-master's house which projected some 25 or 30 feet into the quadrangle; then the remainder of the house; and lastly, the south front of

"Wickham's." Access was obtained to the Doctor's study by an exterior flight of steps, at the top of which was a door giving admission to the sanctum. It was at the foot of this staircase that the celebrated interview took place between the late Lord Eldon and one of his school-fellows ; whose name deserves to be transmitted to posterity, but who unluckily "*caruit vate sacro*." John Scott (as Lord Eldon was then called) had been sent for in July, 1821, by the Head-master ; who informed him that his grandfather had just been created Earl of Eldon. He descended the steps somewhat confused, but still more elated, by this accession to the family honours. It was just the beginning of "standing up^k" week, and a number of big juniors were lounging about, no way ambitious of distinguishing themselves in that competition. One of these caught sight of Scott, and being as inquisitive as idle boys usually are, proceeded to interrogate him.

"I say, what did Gabell want with you?"

"Why, he wanted me," replied Scott impressively, "to tell me that my grandfather had been made Earl of Eldon, by the king ; and I, in consequence, am henceforth to be known as Viscount Encombe."

The other stared at him for a minute or two, evidently doubtful whether the boy was not "chaffing" him. Then, reading in his face an assurance of the truth of his story, he took him by the shoulders, twisted him round, and dismissed him with a kick, exclaiming, "Good morning to your lordship, then!" It is a pity that the author of "*Sandford and Merton*" did not live to hear this tale.

Passing by the other rooms of the Head-master's

^k See Glossary on word.

house, the visitor entered the "toy-hall" of "Wickham's." This was an addition to the original structure, made probably at some time subsequent to Burton's buildings. It contained about fifty sets of "toys," similar to those in the principal hall. In one corner of this room was a door leading to a corkscrew staircase, by which access was obtained to the bedrooms. But before ascending thither, there is a door immediately opposite that of the toy-hall, which requires mention. It led, I suppose, into the kitchen occupied by the Doctor's coachman; but anyhow there dwelt there a mysterious being, who went by the title of "Mrs. in Wickham's." I never saw, and I never knew any one who had seen, her. We were wont to rap at the door of this chamber, after the fashion of those who went to consult the Dwerghi of the North, and presently there was a responsive rap on the other side. Then without a word, we thrust the leg of a pair of trousers, or the sleeve of a shirt we wanted washed under the door, and it was straightway drawn through and disappeared, re-issuing after the same mute fashion a day or two afterwards, duly washed and ironed. By this means some of the more refined among the boys escaped the necessity of wearing the same shirt for two days always, or, at the early part of the week, for three; since Sunday was accounted a "dies non" as regarded dirtying linen, as well as discharge of business.

The corkscrew staircase led to two ranges of bedrooms, which were smaller, lower, and darker than those in any other part of the building. Over the toy-hall was the well-known "twelve-bedded room," to which the noisier spirits of the school seemed always to be drawn by some mysterious attraction. Above

that again was an attic, in which, for a twelvemonth, I had the privilege of sleeping. The reader shall have a full and particular description of it, for it was certainly a curiosity in its way. It was, I should imagine, some two-and-twenty feet in length, and eleven or twelve in width ; but its size was diminished at the entrance, by the doorway being advanced four or five feet into the room, to admit the staircase, by which alone access was gained to it from a passage-room below¹. The height was just enough to allow a boy six feet high to stand upright in it, but he could not have worn his hat. There was one window, possibly two-feet-six high, and five wide, divided into three compartments, of which the middle one only could be opened. Seven bedsteads were ranged round the walls, with space enough between them to allow of a boy getting in and out of bed, if he did not happen to be unusually bulky in the legs. Between the ends of the bedsteads and the washing-board, which stood in the recess of the window, there was about room enough to enable three, or it might be four, boys to wash at the same time. There was no other aperture for fresh air than the central light already mentioned ; and I think I may say this was very rarely opened. If the police in their domiciliary visits had come on such a room, it would straightway have been reported to the sanitary authorities, and very possibly an indignation article would have appeared in some philanthropic newspaper. I suppose it was very shocking—only none of us ever found out the fact. I slept in the room all through one

¹ This construction, together with the different level of the rooms, proved that the attic, with the two rooms below it, had been an addition to the original building.

winter half-year, and cannot remember being particularly cold ; and all through one summer half-year, and never found it overpoweringly close. Boys are, no doubt, no rule for anybody but themselves ; but then, be it remembered, it was for the occupation of boys that this room was designed.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW COMMONERS.—DR. MOBERLY.

SUCH was the “Old Commoners” of our boyhood—a strange, rambling, bizarre old place, as we all, I believe, thought it, possessing no atom of architectural dignity or grace, and uncomfortable to an extent of which not even boys could be unaware. Its removal was not only an excusable, but an inevitable, measure. It is, however, much to be regretted that it should have been destroyed without any previous examination of such parts of it as were of unquestionable antiquity—particularly the basement-storey of “Wickham’s” and “Conduit Gallery,” with the rooms underneath it. Probably, however, no one at that time connected with the place had any idea what was the true history of these parts of the structure. It is also unfortunate that it was not allowed to stand some twenty years longer—by which time the opinion long entertained by individual observers became a general conviction, that the system it embodied was conducive to neither study, discipline, nor comfort. The boys might then have been removed to the present boarding-houses; and a series of class-rooms, in keeping with the college buildings, constructed on the site of Old Commoners. Instead of this, the authorities have been obliged to adapt, as well as they could, to their purpose a building designed for wholly different ends, and at an enormous cost^a. No doubt great and almost amusing cleverness has been displayed

^a Dr. Moberly, in his evidence before the Public School Commissioners, estimates this at £27,000.

in transmuting the bare workhouse-like fabric into an Elizabethan chateau, like a chimney-sweep masquerading on May-day. But the anomaly, nevertheless, is almost as great now, as it was when the last of Mr. Herbert's^b workmen took his departure, and left New Commoners complete.

But those who designed the new house do not appear to have had any adequate idea of the deficiencies of the old one; indeed, they copied the latter in its general outline and arrangements. On the site of old "Cloister Gallery," but extending further westward, over a garden long in the occupation of the college porter, was raised a block of three storeys, the two upper containing bed-rooms; the lower, kitchen and offices. This still retained the ancient name, though the titular "Cloister" had disappeared. On the southern side, where the Sustern Spytal had stood, another three-storied building was erected. Of this the ground-floor was assigned to rooms for two Commoner Tutors, a library, and a broad open passage in the centre; over these were the Matron's apartments, the linen gallery, and the continent-rooms. On the second-floor, known as "North Gallery," were boys' sleeping-rooms. The "toy-hall" was placed very nearly on the same site where the old hall had stood, but extending many feet further southwards: opposite, on the ground formerly occupied by the office-court and the stables, a second hall was built, and this was used only for meals. These halls were equal in height to the basement and first-floor stories of the "Cloister" and "North Gallery" ranges: over both halls were the remaining dormitories. Two stone staircases, closed at the bottom by iron bars and gates, led

^b The builder, employed by Mr. Repton.

to the upper floors ; but these barriers once passed, the whole of the galleries communicated with one another. On the north side of the courtyard, facing College-street, was placed the Head-master's house, a long narrow building, occupying, together with the gate by which the boys went in and out, the entire façade. Though only a "single" house for one-half its length, it is spacious and handsome. The library, which looks southwards, and commands a full view of the courtyard, is a particularly attractive room.

Any old Commoner will see at a glance how strong is the family likeness between the two buildings ; nevertheless, there was also a great difference. The symmetrical arrangement and proportions of the newer structure formed a curious contrast to the old rabbit-warren, its predecessor, with its up-and-down connecting staircases, the irregular level of its floors, and its windows belonging to almost every age and style of architecture. In the old building there had been fewer than thirty bedrooms^c ; and while some few of these had only two or three occupants, others had eight, ten, and twelve. In the new, there were fully a dozen more rooms^d, and not one of these contained more than four beds. They were in fact all, as nearly as possible, of the same size and appearance—square rooms of about fourteen feet, with a bedstead in each of the four corners, a door in the partition-wall, and a large sash-window opposite to it. Those who knew the building best, if they had been led blindfold into any of the bed-chambers or passages, would have been unable, when

^c Ten or eleven in the cloister galleries : five in upper hall gallery ; four in lower do. ; six in Wickham's ; one in new room ; total, 26 or 27.

^d Eight in each of the cloister galleries ; eight in each hall gallery ; nine in north gallery ; total, 41.

the bandage was taken off, to say in what part of the structure they were. Every door, window, and ceiling, every wall and passage, was the precise counterpart of its fellows. The place reminded one of the graphic sketch of the city of Philadelphia by Dickens. It appeared to have been built by a Quaker, for the benefit of Quakers; and one expected one's coat-collar to erect itself, and the brim of one's hat to widen, as one walked about it. Dreary and unsightly, however, as it was, it was soundly and strongly built: I never remember seeing a [stain of wet on a ceiling, or a patch of damp on a wall, or an ill-fitting door or window, during the whole of my residence in it. One's first thought would certainly have been that—setting aside architectural appearance—it was a decided improvement on its prototype.

But it was *not*. No doubt some advantages had been obtained by the change. The boys were no longer shut up in a small courtyard, where they could find little amusement except in persecuting one another. There was a fair-sized mead, where they could play games, and walk up and down under the trees and get fresh air. They were no longer obliged to endure the unsavoury atmosphere of Old Commoner Hall and Conduit Court, and other like discomforts. But there had been three special evils in the old domicile, and none of these were abated—rather, if anything, they were aggravated, by the substitution of the new one.

The first and greatest of these, was the impossibility of any boy's obtaining a moment's privacy throughout the day. Let him go where he would, however urgent might be his reason for desiring it, it was not to be had. "Toy" and "bookschamber

time," were supposed to secure uninterrupted quiet for him ; but they did not quite succeed in doing even this. A boy was not liable, indeed, at these times to be despatched on some errand, or saluted suddenly, in the midst of any employment in which he was engaged, by some missile, or disturbed by the uproar of the hall. But there was the half-subdued chatter of his neighbours continually breaking in on his thoughts ; there were numberless petty and undesigned interferences ; to say nothing of the possibility of there being some ill-natured school-fellow near at hand, who noticed his disinclination to take part in what was passing, and resented it as "sulkiness" or "spreeness." It needs not to say how grievous a mistake it would be so to interpret a boy's longing for solitude. Intellectual power can hardly ripen to maturity without this : religious life can with difficulty be maintained, where it is withheld. The tender affections connected with the thoughts of home ; the glow of thankfulness for mercy received ; the shame and self-reproach after some youthful sin—things more common in a boy's heart than they are aware of, who only study him superficially—these demand seclusion, or their priceless value to the soul is lost. This was the crying evil of Old Commoners, the true cause of many a boy's unhappiness there. And it was, I believe, an evil peculiar to the place. The Etonian, when he wished to read a letter from home, or study some book or subject which especially took his fancy, could shut himself up in his Tutor's house, and in his own particular study in that house : the Harrovian, the Westminster, and the Rugbæan, if each had not always a study to himself, was at all events associated in his private room with one or two others

only at most ; and if these proved uncongenial spirits, they soon parted company by mutual consent. The Commoner at Winchester alone had to live in the continual presence of a crowd. Let his mood be what it might, the uproarious mirth of his noisiest school-fellows, not to say the ribaldry and blasphemy of the worst among them, was for ever sounding in his ears^e.

New Commoners did nothing to diminish this mischief. In the old place there had been one or two nooks and corners where a boy could creep out of sight occasionally. Conduit Gallery, with its three embayed windows ; the servants' hall (when Mother Skinner, the cook, chanced to be in a good humour) ; even the dust-cellar under the Head-master's library I have known resorted to by boys, who simply wanted half-an-hour's quiet. But in the new building—"totus teres, atque rotundus"—I do not believe there was a single spot which could have been made into a hiding-place^f.

Another evil of the place has been already dwelt

^e A curious acknowledgment of the existence of this defect lay in the practice of allowing a boy, who had lost a near relative, &c., to go *continent*, and not requiring his presence in continent-room. In this way only could he obtain solitude. He might sit by himself in the hall, while the boys were in school. Similarly, boys were in the frequent habit of getting "leave to bed," merely in order to have the quiet of their bedroom for two hours or so.

^f I endeavoured myself to abate this mischief, by converting my own outer room into a series of ten or twelve small studies ; and I believe many of those who were allowed the use of these, felt their benefit. But these did not provide the tenth part of what was wanted, and, I doubt not, provoked many jealousies. The Head-master, some seven years after the completion of New Commoners, built about eighteen studies for the senior boys. This was admirable, so far as their occupants were concerned ; but, unattended as the movement was by any provision for the privacy of the juniors, I always feared that the hardships of the latter would be increased through the inevitable withdrawal of much of the supervision of the Præfects.

upon in a previous chapter—the imperfect superintendence, I mean, of the Præfects, as compared with their brethren in college. New Commoners not only failed to remedy, but certainly increased, this evil. In the old place there had been nearly one Præfect to every two rooms; in the new there was not much more than one to every four^g. All the large rooms, again, in Old Commoners had their Præfects. It was only a few, by comparison, who were exempt from immediate Præfectorial control. In New Commoners this latter, as a rule, was quite lost. Præfects and juniors hardly knew for whom they were supposed to be answerable, or who was answerable for them. The discipline, in consequence, underwent a serious deterioration; which the continual residence of two Commoner Tutors within the building hardly made up for.

The third grave objection to the former establishment had been the smallness, inconvenience, and absence of ventilation in the rooms, and especially in the dormitories. Here at least, one would think, an undeniable improvement must have taken place. And yet it was not so. The fatal, unaccountable mistake had been made, of omitting to place chimneys in the sleeping-rooms. Possibly the architect may have argued, that as there had been no chimneys in any of the bedrooms in the old building, there need be none in the new; but there was an essential difference between the two cases. The old crazy partitions, the ceilings under the tiles, the half-rotten floors with gaping cracks, the ill-fitting windows of Old Commoners let in air enough to

^g The senior Præfect in New Commoners was allowed a room to himself. There were therefore only eleven available Præfects for forty-one rooms.

turn a mill, providing a species of ventilation, to which older people would have raised energetic objections, but which did not discompose boys. But the walls of the new rooms were solid and sound; the floors as air-tight, as well-seasoned timber and skilful workmanship could make them; the doors and windows so well-fitted, that a lighted candle might have been held near them without flaring. The air could not penetrate fourteen-inch brickwork, and hence the dormitories were wont to grow, in hot weather, intolerably close^h. The effects of this error were speedily felt. For some years after its re-construction, Commoners was repeatedly, and as it seemed unaccountably, visited by epidemics. The spot, which Dr. Warton with his long experience, amounting to nearly half-a-century, declared to be so exceptionally healthyⁱ, was again and again the centre of disease. Several deaths occurred. At last, in the hot June of 1846, the mischief culminated in an outbreak of fever, which prostrated half the inmates, and so alarmed parents, that a sensible and immediate diminution took place in the numbers.

The evils were remedied; proper drainage was effected. Two bedrooms were thrown into one, and chimneys were built in each apartment. The sanitary advantages caused by this alteration were not the only ones resulting from the step. The reduc-

^h Add to this, that from want of acquaintance (it is said) with the underground topography of the place, a water-course was stopped up, which had hitherto flowed under the building. "The brook," says Woodward, "made a bend in College-street, flowing round the bounds of the ancient Sustern Spytal," that is, through Old Commoners. The great mass of matter thrown in to form the foundation, choked this water-course, converting the subsoil into a subterranean marsh, redolent with malaria.

ⁱ Dr. Warton reports that during the whole of his Second and Head-mastership, from 1755 to 1793, he hardly ever knew any serious illness in the school.

tion of the number of bedrooms from over forty to something like ten or twelve, caused the control of the Seniors to be sensibly felt. And when, shortly afterwards, the number of Præfects was increased to eighteen, a nearer approach was made to the discipline exercised in college, than had ever been the case before. But it is easier to create, than to allay, a panic. Though the health of the boys has never, I believe, again suffered after the same fashion, Commoners continued to fall in numbers, until in 1856 it reached its lowest point of 65. After several years of depression, the tide again turned, and the numbers began to mount again. In 1859, there were 100; in 1862, 150; in 1865, 200; in 1869, 250; in 1871, 300^k.

But previously to the increase of numbers a change had taken place, which had in truth long been forcing itself upon the notice of the authorities. The system in Commoners, radically bad in itself, had every year grown worse by comparison with other schools. It had begun to be understood that it was not merely the dread of fever that kept the numbers down: an amount of personal care for, and attention to, each individual boy, was bestowed in other schools, and looked for by parents, which was not possible in Commoners under its existing *régime*. It was resolved to give the "Tutor's house-system" at least a trial. The first boarding-house was opened in 1860, by the Rev. H. J. Wickham. A second was provided shortly afterwards, by the Rev. H. E. Moberly, and more were subsequently built by the Rev. J. H. Du Boulay and others. These were found on trial fully to answer the purposes for which they were designed. Com-

^k There are now 380 boys in the school; 70 in College, 310 in Commoners.

moners was kept open as the Head-master's boarding-house, containing one hundred boarders only, until 1869; when the whole of the inmates were removed to four new boarding-houses, especially erected for the purpose: and Commoners itself was converted, partly into a series of class-rooms for the various masters, and partly into a school library, as a memorial of Dr. Moberly's mastership. There are now nine boarding-houses, averaging thirty-four each.

We have thus far traced the history of the building known as New Commoners. It will be proper now to say something of the incidents of Dr. Moberly's *régime*. It has already been remarked, that the outset of it was beset by rather more than the ordinary troubles which befel a new Head-master. These were not confined within the walls of the school. In the summer of 1836, there occurred a serious disturbance with some of the towns-people. I am not aware what was the origin of the outbreak; but where two parties are equally ready to quarrel, "there need be no difficulty in finding a reason," as the Irishman said. In truth, the public schoolboy of my day, at all events, was very much given to make the same boast, which Sir Walter Scott puts into Henry Seyton's mouth in the "Abbot:" "If there be offence in your words, you will find me as ready to take it as any lad in Lothian." A state of chronic irritation had for some time subsisted, and had been fomented by various petty encounters during "Hills" and "leave out," small College-boys having been thrashed by parties of roughs, when caught alone. On the eve of the summer holidays, the town resolved to make an onslaught on their enemies, prudently waiting until they were reduced more than half by the departure of the Commoners. Then

they mustered in force, choosing Twyford as their rendezvous, prepared to overwhelm the College-boys by superior strength. In this they would very probably have succeeded; for not only were the Commoners *non inventi*, but a great many of the Senior College-boys had remained behind in college "mugging up" their books for Election Chamber. As soon, however, as the boys learned the state of things, they despatched messengers to college to summon their school-fellows; and on their arrival, resolved to take the initiative in the matter, They proceeded accordingly to Twyford; where a pugilistic encounter took place between the Præfect of Hall, and one Jupe, a pugnacious shoemaker, in which the gownsman seems to have had the best of it. After this, there ensued a kind of running fight all the way home, terminating in a battle royal in Water-lane. But here, in the very citadel of the enemy, the boys were presently overwhelmed by numbers, and forced to retreat to their own domains. They retired in good order, and reached the college-gate without having sustained any serious damage. On making the roll-call, however, it was found that one of their leaders was absent, and fears were entertained lest he should have undergone serious injury. They were contemplating a sortie for his rescue, when he happily made his appearance at the door of the Warden's house. He related how he had been knocked down in the *melée*, and rolled into the ditch under the old town-wall. In the dusk of the evening he had not been noticed, and he had stripped off his gown and ran along with the mob, until he reached the college precincts. Then he had scaled the Warden's garden-wall, and made his way through the Warden's entrance-hall, into the outer court. This affair made

a considerable sensation in the town ; but the authorities, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, judged it wiser to allow it to pass unnoticed.

There was a more serious affray—at least, one that involved more serious consequences, a few years afterwards, in 1838. A man, who seems to have been a pedlar, persisted in bringing contraband articles on to “Hills,” for the boys to purchase. Among these were “spirits ;” which it was the unquestionable duty of the Præfect of Hall to interdict. He remonstrated with the man, but without effect, and then threatened to stop his proceedings in a more summary manner. This, too, proved unavailing ; and on the next occasion of his repeating the offence, the man was seized by five sturdy Præfects, and pitched, basket and all, into Tonbridge. The water there is seldom above four feet deep, and the pedlar sustained no further peril or damage than a sound ducking. He laid his complaint, however, before the magistrates ; and the five Præfects were duly tried at Quarter Sessions. Though it was idle to pretend that the man’s life had been endangered, there was no question that an assault had been committed, and the magistrates must needs have convicted. But if ever there was a case where the verdict “guilty, my lord, but served ’un right,” applied, it was surely this. The merest nominal penalty, or an order to attend to receive judgment if called upon, would have met the justice of the case. The magistrates thought otherwise, and inflicted a fine of fifty pounds—ten pounds for each offender. The college immediately paid the fine, upholding (and most rightly) the Præfect of Hall and his coadjutors in what they had honestly believed their duty. It is to be re-

gretted that no appeal was made to the Home Office against this decision.

Several years now passed without any unusual occurrence, until, in the winter of 1846, the school sustained a most grievous loss by the resignation of Mr. Wordsworth¹, who had held the office of Hostiarius since 1835. Mr. Wordsworth (now Bishop of St. Andrew's) is happily still living, and there is the same difficulty in speaking of his career as Second Master, which I have already expressed in the instance of his Principal, the Bishop of Salisbury. Yet, after all, there can be little need to speak of them, either as scholars or religious teachers. In the former capacity, the author of the Greek Grammar almost in universal use throughout England, and the felicitous translator of Pindar^m, are acknowledged as two of the most eminent scholars of the day: and as religious teachers—any one who peruses the pages of "Christian Boyhood at a Public School," or Moberly's "Sermons preached in Winchester College Chapel," or, above all, the Fourth of his admirable Letters addressed (in 1861) to Sir William Heathcote, may learn how deep was the compre-

¹ The Rev. Charles Wordsworth, second son of a former Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; his elder brother being John Wordsworth, Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, and his younger, the present Bishop of Lincoln. He was educated at Harrow, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained the Latin Verse in 1827, the Latin Essay, 1831, and a First Class, 1830; he was made Warden of Glenalmond in 1847; Bishop of St. Andrew's, 1853; and Fellow of Winchester, 1871. He married, first, Miss Day, who died in 1839; and secondly, in 1846, Miss C. Barter, daughter of the Rev. W. B. Barter, by whom he has a large family. He is the author of the Greek Grammar now in general use, "Christian Boyhood at a Public School," and other works. He is almost as renowned for his feats on the river and in the cricket-field, as for his scholarship.

^m The translation in question has not the bishop's name in the title-page, but I believe its authorship is no secret.

hension, on the part of both these instructors, of a boy's difficulties and needs; how earnest and devoted the desire to meet them; how wise the means pursued for effecting their object. Every schoolmaster should study these works, if it were only to realise to himself the truth of Niebuhr's saying, that "the office of a schoolmaster is a truly noble one." It was not without much hesitation and regret that Mr. Wordsworth tendered his resignation; but his health had been failing for some considerable time past, and a longer interval of rest was necessary for its complete restoration, than the half-yearly vacations would allow of. The notice was received with regret equal to his own by the electors, and the Rev. F. Wickham^a was appointed as his successor. Mr. Wordsworth's old pupils raised a subscription to put painted glass into one of the windows of Warden Thorburn's Chapel, as a memorial of him; and the boys made him a present of some valuable books. His picture was also painted by Richmond, and engraved.

Some two years after this, just before the winter of 1848, something resembling an *émeute* took place in Commoners—the only one, I believe, which occurred during Dr. Moberly's *régime*. Nothing had occurred which could afford, even in the eyes of the boys, a sufficient ground for it; but they had taken

^a The Rev. Frederic Wickham, youngest son of Mr. Wickham, for half-a-century or so the medical attendant of the college. He was admitted scholar, 1819; obtained New College, 1826; took his B.A. degree, 1830; M.A., 1832. He was appointed Commoner Tutor in 1831. In 1837 he married Miss Chaplin, and in 1838 became Master of a school at Exmouth. In 1846 he was elected Hostiarius, which office he held till his death, in Dec., 1862. Mrs. F. Wickham died in 1846, and in 1848 he married Miss Emily Gordon, who survives him. He left six children.

offence at some trifle, as it is the manner of boys occasionally to do, and every petty detail of daily discipline helped to inflame it. On the Saturday evening before breaking-up they thought to have a display of fireworks, and light a large bonfire in their playground, notwithstanding that the evening was cold and rainy. They had ascertained that one of the two Commoner Tutors was dining out, and the other they barricaded in his room. The Head-master, however, saw what was going on from his window, and hurried down among the rioters. With some difficulty, and danger from the squibs which were flying about, he got them all into the toy-hall, and sent for the Tutors, under whose escort they were despatched to bed. On the following day they continued in a very fractious condition, unwillingly attending the chapel services, and absenting themselves from toy and meal times. On the Monday morning they broke out into open mutiny, barring themselves in their rooms, and refusing to come forth ; but so complete a *fiasco* as ensued, has rarely been recorded. No measures were taken to compel the obedience of the rebels ; they were simply left to their own bargain. "They wont come out, wont they?" said the Head-master ; "there they shall stay then!" A Master was placed in each one of the five galleries, with instructions to *keep* the boys in the rooms where they had secured themselves. Considerably puzzled at these tactics, the latter, after an hour or two of inaction, began to get tired of the situation, and, removing their barricades, ventured out here and there to learn what was going on. They were promptly ordered back, and the door secured on the other side against them. By-and-by the uncomfortable fact that they had had no

breakfast, and, so far as they could see, were not likely to get one, began to force itself on their notice. In some few of the rooms, I believe, eatables had been obtained from below; but even here the necessity of having to pay for these out of their "journey-money," instead of breakfasting at the expense of others, was not satisfactory. Again, how long was this to last? It was terribly dull work, being mewed-up in their bedrooms, and they wanted to go home. Finally, after several hours' imprisonment, the self-incarcerated rebels, on suing for forgiveness, were released from the unwelcome situation, and allowed to depart.

In the summer following this affair the college received a distinguished visitor in the person of the Prince Consort, who arrived at Winchester on the 12th of July, and after inspecting the cathedral, and receiving deputations from various bodies, drove down to the college. Here he was received by the whole Wykehamical body—the Warden, Fellows, Masters, and Scholars. An address in Latin was delivered under Middle Gate by the Præfect of Hall, welcoming his arrival. His Royal Highness inspected the chapel, hall, school-room, &c., and made very minute inquiries as to the studies and discipline of the school. The boys sang their time-honoured song of "*Dulce Domum*," to which he listened with interest, and at his departure, expressed himself much pleased with what he had seen and heard.

The fifth year after the Prince's visit saw the first beginning of the extensive and radical changes which have taken place in the constitution of the college. It had long been a matter of rejoicing to many, but of surprise to all, how little difference the silent

advance of five hundred years had made in Wykeham's institutions. Only ten years previously Lord Selborne had been able to write, and with literal accuracy,—

“Nations, and thrones, and reverend laws have melted
like a dream,
Yet Wykeham's works are fresh and green, beside the
crystal stream.”

They had lasted thus long perhaps, because the boundless, though scarcely wise, loyalty of Wykehamists had not only forborne to meddle with one single minute detail of what they held so sacred, but had deprecated all attempts of the kind in others. Had any effort been made to amend portions of the system, which had become obviously useless, and even hurtful, it is probable that a great, though by no means so sweeping a change would have come long before. As it was, the old system continued to stand like the throne of the Etruscan kings; which endured century after century without the slightest appearance of decay, until the hour came when the chamber was laid open to the day, and then in a moment it collapsed into ruin.

The Oxford University Commission had recommended, among other things, the substitution of a competitive examination, in place of the old nomination system, to scholarships in Winchester College. The suggestion was at once complied with, and the first election under the altered system took place in 1854. The change produced immediate and startling consequences. The number of the candidates rose almost immediately to three and four times what it had been before. In the course of a few years, there were something like twelve or fourteen candidates for every vacancy. I shall say elsewhere

all I desire to say on this subject. After all, time alone can determine with any certainty what are the true fruits of the system now in operation.

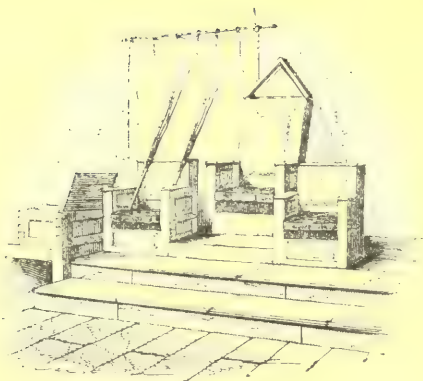
A year or two subsequently, the Crimean memorial was placed in the ambulatory leading to the Cloisters, outside the Chapel. This has been elsewhere described. I will here only remark on the fact, doubtless well known and considered by those who placed it there, that this is the spot where the boys of previous generations were wont to repair, at a certain hour in the afternoon, to offer up their private prayers. The practice has long been abandoned. But one cannot but reflect, if it had still been in use, how solemn would have been the effect of this memorial on those who resorted thither to pray. What strikes a visitor most, in examining the memorial, is the extreme *youth* of most of those whose death it records. Few could have given even a cursory glance at the figures inscribed in the side compartments, and the simple but glowing language of the central inscription, without some increase of earnestness in the devotions they offered.

Four or five years more, and the author of these noble words was carried past them, to his grave in the Cloisters. It is my purpose to speak elsewhere of Warden Barter; but I cannot but observe, in this place, how complete a severance with the past his death seemed to effect. For nearly thirty years Winchester had been associated in the minds of Wykehamists with his presidency and that of Dr. Moberly; for nearly twenty, with that of Dr. Williams also. Only in the previous year the latter had been missed from his accustomed place, and a void occasioned, which it would be hard to fill up. Now the twin pillar, as it were, of the Wyke-

hamical temple had fallen, and this at a time when old things were seen by all to be fast passing away. No one could have felt this so keenly as the last of the three; who was left, the sole relic of the united band, which in the early days of his Headmastership had worked so well and so happily together.

A few years more, and fresh changes, more extensive even than the previous ones, were initiated by the Public School Commissioners; and finally, in 1866, Dr. Moberly himself resigned^o, after his long reign of thirty-one years; and verily and indeed it might then be said that "all things had become new."

^o Dr. Moberly had, long previously to his retirement, been presented by his old pupils with his picture by Grant; of which a very fair engraving has been executed. After his resignation, the old north gallery, and the rooms beneath it, were converted into a handsome Elizabethan structure, to be used as a library for the boys, and called after him the "Moberly Library."



Master's Seat and Rods.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCHOOL-LIFE.—A SCHOOL DAY.

WITH the resignation of Dr. Moberly ends the historical portion of our subject. It remains that we describe the every-day life and habits of the boys. This will be best done by taking these in detail, depicting first the ordinary occurrences of a school day, then those of a remedy and holiday, and lastly, such as belonged only to special seasons or occasions.

The life was certainly a rough one. A distinguished living Wykehamist has applied to it the well-known words of Ulysses to Alcinous, when describing his native Ithaca :—

*Τρηχέϊ' ἀλλὰ ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος· οὔτι ἔγωγε
Ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.*

“*Τρηχέϊα*” it certainly was; and considering the many distinguished men in Church and State who learned their first lessons within its walls, we need not hesitate to pronounce it “*ἀγάθη κουροτρόφος*,”

either. But, however that may be, few will deny the applicability of the *last* part of the quotation. So far as my observation of life has extended, the retrospect of their school-life is ever a green spot in the memory of Wykehamists. The Circes and Calypsos of after life—its pleasures and its prizes—seldom efface, or even impair, the freshness of its image.

New boys generally made their acquaintance with the school on the first day of a new half-year, at a time when all was bustle and disorder. But some, both in College and Commoners, would arrive in the middle of the half-year, when summoned to fill-up some sudden vacancy. It will make the task easier, to suppose the latter to be the case.

The journey from London, whence, or through which, most boys came, was, in the days of "Old Commoners," by coach. I am not sure whether the railway was open the whole way to Winchester, in the year in which the old building was pulled down; but it could only have been in that year, if it was so. There were two roads to London—one by Basingstoke, and the other by Guildford. We boys generally preferred the latter, because the "Red Rover" coach, driven by the renowned Peer, went that way; and it was considered the correct thing for a fellow to locate himself on the box-seat, by the side of that famous Jehu, offer him a cigar, talk horsey, or what was presumed to be such—and finally induce Peer to hand the reins over to him. To this proposal Peer would sometimes accede, overborne by the prospect of a five-shilling tip; and sometimes would demur, having the terror of a summons before some county magistrate before his eyes. But whenever he did agree, he took care that the transfer should only be made when there

was a tolerably quiet team, and a level stretch of road. He kept a sharp watch also on the reins, prepared to snatch them into his own hands again, if any difficulty presented itself. He did not allow his deputies to discover all this, however, as it would have sorely abated their estimate of their own performance, and might perhaps have endangered the five-shilling tip.

Arrived at Winchester, the new-comer and his parent or guardian almost invariably alighted at the "George" Inn,—a house said by local antiquaries to be as old as the times of the Plantagenets—that being the hotel generally patronised by the school; only a few, and they for singularity's sake, affecting the "White Hart." Then the correct programme was to order dinner, and pay a visit to the Warden or Head-master, as the case might be, for the double purpose of introducing the new boy, and requesting the company at dinner of any in the school with whom he might be able to claim acquaintance, with an eye to securing his good offices. The permission was readily granted, the Warden or Head-master often himself introducing some boy, who he thought might form a useful friend to the new comer, in the event of there being no one with whom he was already intimate^a, or on whom he had some claim.

^a This custom is systematised, and with very good effect, at Westminster. When a new arrival takes place there, the Master chooses some boy whom he thinks suited for the purpose, and delivers the tyro into his charge. They are then known in the school, for the next fortnight to come, as "Substance" and "Shadow." The new boy follows the steps, and imitates the actions, of his *patronus*, with the fidelity of an actual shadow. If the "Substance" takes up to the head of the class, the "Shadow" follows him thither; if the "Substance" is sent to the bottom, he shares the degradation. The "Substance" is held responsible for all the offences or mistakes of his adjunct, and the period of union seldom expires before the

The formal call over, the visitors, accompanied by guests, were wont to return to the "George;" where dinner would be duly served by a waiter who was so conspicuous a character among Wykehamists, that it would not be proper to omit all mention of him.

His name was Henry White. He saved a good deal of money during the years of his waitership, and rose to be the landlord of the inn in time. The chief source of the unusual amount of profits which he realised, was his pronounciation of the two monosyllables, "Yes, Sir." These he combined in a dissyllable, which he delivered as "Yezzar," but with a peculiar twang, which it is impossible to express in writing. The boys regarded this as so wonderfully amusing, that he obtained at least twice the ordinary tip from every one of them who breakfasted or dined at the inn. I am not sure that the popularity of the "George" was not, after all, mainly due to him. No boy ever gave him less than a shilling a meal. Had he done so, Mr. White would probably have punished him by dropping, in his instance, the shibboleth that distinguished him. Some, in the fulness of their hearts and purses, would bestow on him as much as half-a-crown. Boys' pockets, it should be remembered, were almost as heavy on the days of their flight homewards, as on those of their return to school—the supply of "journey money" obtained from the authorities, in most instances considerably exceeding the amount actually necessary. The feat attributed to alchemists, of transmuting lead or iron into gold, was nothing compared with that of "Yezzar," who contrived to convert

"Shadow" has experienced, in a very practical manner, the fallacy of the theory, that he has no *body* wherein to suffer.

two ordinary monosyllables into cash enough to enable him to purchase the ownership of the inn. It was amusing to watch him when any old College-boy or Commoner returned to visit Winchester, after an absence of some years. He would perhaps, at first, answer the new arrival with "Yes, Sir," as any ordinary waiter might have done; keeping a careful watch, however, to ascertain by any chance question or remark, whether he had before him an old Wykehamical acquaintance or not. The moment he felt assured that the former was the case, the old watchword returned to his lips with double emphasis, seldom failing to reap its reward. When he attained the dignity of landlord, he entirely dropped the practice, and was wont to be extremely slow in understanding any reference to it. Dinner over, the Mentor who had accompanied the young Telemachus probably took himself off by the night mail or to bed, while Telemachus himself accompanied his school-fellow to College, or Commoners, as the case might be, where he was consigned to bed; his practical acquaintance with his new abode commencing on the following morning.

And it commenced tolerably early. If he arrived during the summer months, he would be roused at half-past five, by a shrill voice in the courtyard, or the passage outside his room, crying "first peal;" and if he did not straightway fold his arms to slumber again, would catch the chime of the bells from the college-tower. If his coming took place in winter-time, the peal would not be so early, but the room would be too dark for him to distinguish anything. Let us suppose the arrival to have been between these times, when the twilight just enabled him to see the objects round him. If he was a Commoner,

he saw nothing but a very commonplace-looking bedroom, the walls bare and whitewashed, an ordinary sash or dormer window, and a number of half-tester bedsteads, tenanted, each by its drowsy occupant. But it would have been different in the instance of a College-boy. As he looked round him, hardly yet awake, he would at least have seen something quite new to his experience. There were the massy oak bedsteads, surmounted by a wooden canopy, some partially, some entirely separated from their neighbours by solid screens. Was he in a tea-garden, or on board ship? The strong post in the middle looked like the latter. But no, there was the fire-place, big enough to roast an ox, though with no grate, only dogs, with the white embers of a wood fire; and there was the window with its mullion and bars. It must be a house of detention of some kind; yet no, it was not that either, for the door stood wide open, and a boy of his own age was coming in with some jugs of water. Then full consciousness of his whereabouts would come upon him, and he would set himself to take stock more closely of this strange place. First he would notice that the insides of the wooden half-testers, so to speak, were adorned with pictures of one sort or another, according to the taste and fancy of the occupant; and each was provided with a slab on which lay some books, and an extinguished candle. By the side of each bedstead was a rude sort of bureau, with a box in front of it, which served at once as a seat and a receptacle for clothes. Under the pillar in the centre of the chamber stood a form, on which were heaped two or three dressing-boxes, known, *Wykehamicè*, as “washing-drawers.” In a kind of pan, fastened to a staple in the wall above the fire-place, were the remains of last night’s rush-

light, or functure^b, nothing but wick and grease. Against the walls on either side, were ranged the four-legged rude-looking tables called "washing-stools:" above the bedsteads, the walls had been inlaid with a series of squares of dark-coloured stone, or slate, on which were inscribed the names of former inmates of the chamber. Everything seemed strange, and somewhat rude and bare of aspect, yet there was an appearance of solid comfort nevertheless.

Presently the new-comer's attention would be attracted to the lad whom he had seen bringing in water, when he first woke. This was the "junior in chambers," whose lot in life has been represented, by more than one writer, as the very climax of happiness^c; but which most persons would regard as being anything but an enviable one. It was his office in the morning to turn out, when "Rat Williams^d" knocked at the door (on his way to sound the first peal) and hurry on his clothes. Then he went round to wake the Præfects, and his own especial master the "candle-keeper" in his chamber. Next he proceeded to lay the "half-faggots" (of which there was a pile near the door), and light the

^b See Glossary on word. According to some, this word should be spelt "functor."

^c T. Warton has dedicated one of his short poems to the "Happy Junior in Sixth Chamber :"—

"Hither ye jocund muses haste,
And if ye love a theme of taste,
Begin with me, in tuneful strife,
To sing a happy junior's life," &c.

The Bishop of St. Andrew's also has chosen the same theme, and writes in the same strain :—

"Oh, si præteritam liceat revocare juventam,
In Sexta Camerâ Junior esse velim.
Ostia doctrinæ qui vult mihi grandia servet,
Ipse sed ante fores stans puer 'Hora' vocem."

It should however be remarked, that neither of these gentlemen ever was *himself* "junior in sixth."

^d His son was hight "Dungy," why—dicant, qui sciunt.

fire; to make the necessary preparations for his master's toilet, and bring in water from the conduit in the court outside, where also he had to perform his own ablutions. These avocations, together with any other errand on which he might be incidentally despatched, gave him (to say the least of it) very sufficient occupation for his time. At a quarter to six the peal again rang out, and the cry of "bells go" was sounded in shrill tones through every chamber of College and Commoners. The boys were now out of bed, busily engaged in the performance of their toilets, with the exception of a few incorrigible sluggards, who still clung to their pillows, intending to make a desperate rush just at the last.

After ten minutes the peal changed, and only a single bell continued to ring. This was notified by the cry "bells go single," and five minutes afterwards, by that of "bells down." All, even the tardiest, were now compelled to leap out of bed, and shuffle on their clothes. Presently the Headmaster in his cocked hat^e (painfully resembling that of a parish beadle, I am compelled to say), his knee-breeches, silk stockings, cassock and gown, would descend from his library; or the Second Master, similarly attired, only that his hat resembled that of a post-captain turned the reverse way, would appear at the archway near Sixth Chamber, and the warning voice would be heard "Gabell," or "Williams through," "Williams," or "Ridding in." Straightway there would be a general rush, the College-boys darting across the quadrangle in the rear of the Præfect of Chapel; while the Commoners hurried

^e When the use of these hats was discontinued, and the college trencher-cap substituted, I cannot ascertain. I imagine it was somewhere about 1830.

in, keeping up a continuous stream from their more distant quarters.

The Commoner juniors had the best of it up to the time of the entry of the Head-master. There were no fires to light, no water (in ordinary) to be fetched, no toilet apparatus of their masters to be got ready. They had nothing to do but to dress themselves, and they were quite as often the sluggards as their seniors. But when the notice that the Doctor had gone in was given, the rush down the steep staircases was an awful thing to witness. In Wickham's more particularly, where fully forty boys had to plunge *en masse* down a corkscrew staircase, as narrow and steep as a ship's companion-ladder, it was a standing miracle that arms, legs, and necks were not broken every morning. The boys got to the bottom somehow or other unhurt, the process of descent very nearly resembling that of the moths down the wires of a child's toy. Then they poured pell-mell through Conduit-court, Blue-gate, School-court, and Seventh Chamber-passage, just in time to answer to their names. The celerity with which it was all accomplished was marvellous. Sometimes, even when the Head-master was on his way through Commoners, a boy would jump up, huddle on a jacket, a pair of trowsers, and a ditto of shoes, and rush frantically "unkempt, unwashed, unhurt," after his school-fellows, reaching the chapel-door perhaps just in time to answer "sum" when his name was called.

The College-boys could play this trick with comparative impunity. Their valets were wont to get ready the dressing paraphernalia of their masters before chapel, conveying them into school as soon as service was over. But the sluggards in Commoners were obliged to make humble entreaty for

permission to return to their bedrooms, and perform the offices they had neglected. This was not obtained without considerable difficulty, and sometimes could not be obtained at all. Now and then it happened that a boy was obliged to wash in conduit, and go without stocking or shirt all day, substituting a jersey for the last-named article, and dispensing with the former altogether.

After chapel there was an interval, longer or shorter according to the time of year, before the commencement of morning school, which was at half-past seven o'clock. This was devoted by the boys to the double purpose of getting ready such lessons as they had omitted to learn over-night, and providing themselves with something in the way of food. In the times of which I write, though the boys were expected to rise at half-past five o'clock, and though they sometimes did rise still earlier, no breakfast for them was provided until ten. For nearly five mortal hours they were required to keep their keen youthful appetites in subjection, quickened though these were on two days of the week by the fresh air of St. Catherine's steep. I need not tell my readers that the boys did not practise the asceticism in question. No sooner was chapel over, than Blue-gate and Commoner-gate alike were besieged by customers for hot coffee and "Sally Luns," which La Croix and Raymond, the privileged caterers, dispensed at a modest profit, (it might be) cent. by cent. There was just time to partake of these dainties and get their books together, when time came for morning school to begin^f. Conduit

^f The meal-times and play-hours, in former times at all events, seem to have been arranged with two objects in view; one, the running up of long bills at the pastry-cook's; the

court-gate being again opened, the Commoners straggled in a few minutes before half-past seven, and found the school in its usual morning condition of admired disorder.

A full description of this building has already been given in Chapter v. It will only be necessary here to supplement it by the mention of a few minor arrangements, chiefly made by the boys themselves. First, as to the places they occupied while in school.

The "Scobs,"—that is to say, the large oaken double-lidded boxes used by the College-boys, which were described as being placed at the angles of the benches lining the floor between the gangways running up and down and across the school—were considerably more in number than the College-boys. Every junior had one; while those at the top of the school had two apiece, and sometimes more. The scobs were arranged in groups of four, facing one another. When the upper lids were lifted, they

other, the making the boys dissatisfied with the wholesome fare provided for their legitimate repasts. It has been mentioned that breakfast was delayed so long, that the boys were virtually driven to provide some food, previously to it, for themselves. They came accordingly to their breakfasts, an hour afterwards, with their stomachs recently filled, and the bread and butter, instead of being eaten, was left untouched, or thrown about the hall. At twelve o'clock the Commoners, and more recently the College Præfects, were allowed an hour's absence from the premises, and this was frequently passed, either in La Croix's shop, laying in a store of tarts and puffs, and what was courageously termed "hare soup," or at "Commoner Field," where another licensed vendor supplied a similar store for their entertainment. At one they returned to dinner in Commoners, and lunch in College, but wholesome viands had now no relish for them; and this was attributed, not to the recent banquet of jam and pastry, but to the supposed unwholesomeness of the meat and vegetables—for which allegation, so far as I could see, there never was the slightest foundation.

formed a kind of screen against the outer world ; and the four occupants of the square, seated between the boxes and facing each other, were snugly enough established, able to pursue their studies, and sometimes other less unobjectionable pursuits, without interruption. In the squares arranged against the northern and southern walls, the Præfects established themselves. Immediately to the left of the Head-master's chair, as you faced him, was the traditional square of the Præfect of Hall ; next to his those of the Præfects of Library[§] and School. The scobs in the central portion, towards the Head-master's end, were assigned to Commoner Præfects. Those opposite, and at the corresponding squares at the other end, were occupied by College juniors. Nearer the fireplace, the range of squares was broken by two long narrow tables, appropriated to Commoners. Those who could not find places here, usually located themselves in the square of some College-boy, with whom they had established friendly relations. This custom had so good an effect in cementing good-will between the two parts of the school, that the authorities would have been slow to make any more definite arrangement for the accommodation of Commoners, even if it had been in their power to do so.

At one of the scobs near the door, on the west side, was the seat of the Ostiarius, who (as the reader was told in Chap. iii.) was one of the ten Senior Præfects appointed for the day to keep order in the school. Another, whose office was not daily, but weekly—the Bible-clerk—assisted him in this among other things, and his seat was at one of the

[§] Until the middle of this century, the second officer was "Præfect of Tub."

scobs at the east end of the school. To them the charge of keeping order during the hours of lessons was confided : no one could leave the school without their permission ; they received and carried up to the Masters the names of those ordered for punishment—the Ostiarius those of the lesser, the Bible-clerk of the greater, offenders. If the noise exceeded the permitted bounds, these functionaries would rise and make the tour of the school with their ground-ashes, until they detected some offender, upon whose shoulders they would bring down their weapons with an emphasis which, for the time at least, reduced the uproar to perfect stillness. The victim selected was generally a big Commoner sitting at the long table : first, because the boys seated there were generally more noisy than their fellows ; and secondly, because their shoulders, being altogether clear of the scobs, presented a more inviting target for the Ostiarius's aim. If the latter was a good-natured fellow, as, truth to say, he often was, he would sometimes desire some junior to stick a blotting-book, or gag-book, between his gown and college waistcoat, and occasionally bestow a blow upon that, which sounded very awful, and produced the desired silence without personal suffering to any one.

The Ostiarius was required to maintain order not only while the Masters were in school, but before they came in—from the actual moment, in fact, when school-time began. But no Ostiarius ever troubled himself to do that ; indeed, I doubt whether any Ostiarius that ever lived could have accomplished such a task. When the boys straggled in from Commoners shortly before the hour of school, they found themselves in the midst of a perfect Babel of confusion. The Præfects were shouting

vociferously for juniors ; the juniors, rushing hither and thither, hustling each other, and screaming “fagging” as loudly as their masters ; groups of Praefects were clustered on the steps near the fire, chatting gaily, and chaffing one another ; idle fellows, who had put off learning their lessons till the last minute, were imploring a construe from some more diligent school-fellow ; two fellows lower in the school, a College-boy and a Commoner probably, had come to fisticuffs over old grievances, and were having it out in a corner, their friends standing by to applaud and encourage. A medley of indescribable sounds would fill the air, in the midst of which would suddenly be heard the sharp prolonged “hiss” of the junior set to watch for the approach of the Master. Woe to this unlucky wight if he failed to exercise “the wisdom of the serpent” in this particular. In any case, the notice given was short enough ; even if the signal was given the very moment that the Informator or Hostiarius hove in sight, they had not more than forty or fifty yards to walk before they reached the school-door ; and often they were half-way across school-quad before their advent was noticed.

But the boys were equal to the occasion. They rushed in a moment pell-mell,—north, south, east, west,—each to his place, hustling, clutching, tumbling over one another. The Ostiarius, who would have been severely rated if all had not been in the straitest order when the great man entered, followed in the rear like an avenging spirit, cutting and slashing with his ground-ash any boys who were “tardy” in reaching their proper stations. In cloister-time there were sometimes as many as sixty or seventy boys, who were in this manner required

to arrange themselves in school-order in the course of a few seconds; but, as a general rule, when the door opened to admit the Master, he found everything as quiet and orderly as though they had all been arranged in their places a quarter-of-an-hour before.

We will suppose the new arrival to have witnessed this scene, and the entrance of the Master. He would then be summoned, in the first instance at all events, before the Hostiarius, who would question him as to his acquirements, and give him some passages from a Greek and Latin writer to translate, as well as a subject for a Latin theme, and another for verses. According to his performance of these subjects, of course, would be his place in one or other of the classes ("parts" they were called at Winchester) into which the school was divided. The examination would be continued at middle and afternoon school, after which his future position would, no doubt, be determined. We will suppose him to have done his task, and be looking about him at the new world into which he found himself suddenly translated.

It would be probably late in "afternoon school"—a warm afternoon in May or June, perhaps. "Cloisters" have finished their lesson, and the Hostiarius remains on, looking over themes, or requiring impositions to be delivered to him, or the like; the boys, scattered up and down the school, are all busy at one employment or another; some are mugging "standing up;" some at work on their "verse" or "prose" tasks for the week; some, who have been "crippled," writing out the lesson in the "double-ruled lines," which were of Dr. Gabell's especial introduction, and continued by his follower, Mr. Ridding; some engaged on the illicit perusal of an

amusing book, or a game at chess or draughts, the friendly scob-lid screening the players from magisterial eyes. But near him is a group who are indisposed to literature in any shape, even that of a Waverley novel, and groan over the waste of the bright summer hours on pursuits so utterly profitless. Presently a scheme is concocted whereby the remainder of the school-time may be redeemed to pleasanter uses—to wit, a game of cricket on Meads. But how is that to be accomplished? Only four boys are allowed to be out of school at the same time, and they only for ten minutes or so. The process of obtaining this leave, by the way, is a peculiar one. Each boy is required, in the first instance, to apply for leave to put up a roll; this granted, the applicant writes on a strip of paper the words, “*Ostarii veniâ potitus, tuam pariter exeundi petit*,” and lays it, with his name appended, on the small shelf by the side of the Master’s seat. If the pledge thus left is not redeemed within a reasonable time, the offender’s “roll” is examined, and he suffers punishment accordingly. The party who propose the cricket scheme are eight or nine in number, and an absence of ten minutes or a quarter-of-an-hour would be of no avail. They must give it up? Not they. *A.* solicits permission to “put up a roll,” which being granted, he leaves his strip of paper in due course and departs, carrying a message of his own devising to the others outside, that they are instantly to return to the school. Then *B.* goes up and places his roll, but contrives in doing so to knock *A.*’s roll off the shelf. It falls among the scobs, and is lost to sight. A few minutes afterwards, some accomplice, who does not want to join the cricket-party, is persuaded to go up and take away *B.*’s roll, as though it

had been his own. Then *C.* and *D.*, putting a bold face on it, ask the Ostiarius's leave (they are too wise to omit that), and then march down the middle of school and out at the door, making as though they had put up their rolls, but not having really done so. *E.* and *F.* hang about near the door, sheltered from sight by the neighbouring scobs, and, as soon as the door is opened, crawl out unperceived. Six of the conspirators have thus contrived to get out, and leave no trace behind them; and the others manage it also, somehow or other, who can say how?

“Non mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum
Ferreæ vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas
Omnia ‘*tricarum*’ percurrere nomina possim.”

The neophyte meanwhile has overheard the concoction of the conspiracy, and witnessed with surprise and admiration its accomplishment, albeit he only half comprehends the manœuvres he has beheld. But, alas, even the best-laid schemes are liable to defeat and detection. The boys have contrived, or think they have contrived, to elude the sharp eyes of the Hostiarius; but he detects, nevertheless, a considerable thinning of the boys belonging to one particular quarter of the school. Haply his ears, to the full as sharp as his eyes, catch the distant crack of a cricket-ball against a bat; and putting two and two together, he apprehends the true state of matters. Forthwith the Ostiarius is despatched into Meads, and presently returns with a long line of offenders preceding him in single file; who are set to stand up in junior row until the end of the Second Master's stay in school, when justice will be done upon them.

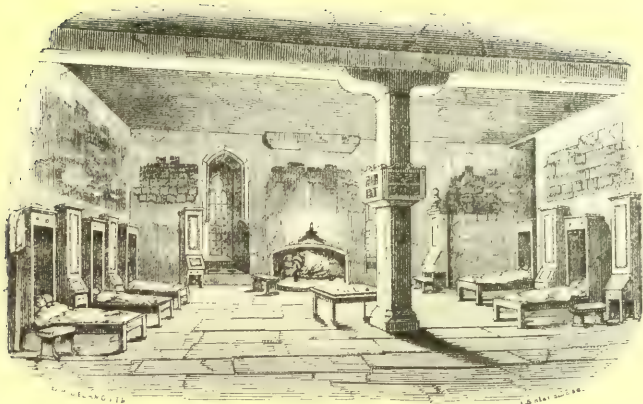
This comes speedily now. Putting on his cocked

hat, as a judge assumes the black cap, he signs for the rods to be brought, and calls out the name of the first of the delinquents. The latter kneels meekly down in front of the "scrubbing form," and two College-boys proceed to "take him up." They unbutton the braces at the back of his trowsers, turn the trowsers back, and draw out the shirt, leaving a portion of the back (about a handsbreadth) exposed, but considerably higher up than the parts usually chosen for flagellation. Then the wooden-handed rod, with its four apple-twigs, is handed to the executioner. He wields it with a grasp to which long practice has given dexterity, and brings the ends of the twigs together on the bare skin with a smart stinging cut, which is four times repeated. The first time that a culprit was in this manner brought to justice, he was allowed to plead "*primum tempus*^h;" and it was said that some boys have passed through the school, without ever being obliged to offer this plea. In more modern times that may have been so; in my time, I doubt whether such a phenomenon ever took place. Scrubbings, in those times, were as plentiful as blackberries in autumn. It was not considered to be more disgraceful to a boy to be "scrubbed," than to lose a place up at books. It was, in fact, the universal punishment for offences, great and small alike. If any one had missed, or been "tardy" "chapel," or "hills," or could not say his lesson, or had done a faulty exercise; or had been caught out of bounds, or out of bed; or had broken a window, or been saucy to a master; or had made a noise

^h Sometimes boys' memories would be very bad on his head, and they would plead "*primum tempus*" not once, but half-a-dozen times. "*Primum tempus, ba-ay*," exclaimed Gabell indignantly to a lad, now a worthy dignitary of the Church: "*Centesimum tempus* more likely! kneel down, sir!"

in school, or committed any other of the thousand-and-one offences to which boys are prone, there was one and the same penalty for all. I remember being told by an old Wykehamist, who was sent into Commons just about the first year of the present century, that on the first day of his arrival there were 198 boys in the school, and 275 names reported for flogging!

In later years this has been amended. Floggings, though not discontinued, are much rarer things. The late Head-master states, in his letters to Sir W. Heathcote, that not more than twenty floggings were in his time inflicted in the course of the year. Of course, under these circumstances, a sense of disgrace has come to be attached to them, which was quite unknown in former years.



College Chamber.

CHAPTER XV.

SCHOOL-LIFE.—A SCHOOL DAY (*continued*).

AS soon as morning school was up, there was a general rush of both College-boys and Commoners to breakfast. The latter took theirs of course in "Commoner Hall," already described in Chapter xii. This room was not, like the College Hall, always ready for the serving of any meal: it had to be specially prepared for each occasion. The long narrow table, at which the juniors sat during toy-time, was the only fixture. This was occupied at meals by the senior boys, with the exception of the Præfects; who sat at two small tables placed on either side of one of the fire-places. These were brought in from an adjoining dark closet—mere boarded frames arranged on trestles—before every meal, and removed when it was over. The other boys were accommodated at tables of the same kind, only longer.

The supply of food was abundant and good. A teapot, milk-jug, and sugar-basin were supplied to

every six boys. Each boy's pewter-plate was furnished with a square roll, called "a sines^a," and a triangular pat of butter; and if these were found insufficient, any boy could have more by asking for it. The upper and lower crust of the "sines" only, in most instances, were eaten. The crumb which formed the centre was usually kneaded up into a lump, and thrown at the nearest mark that presented itself. The boys were allowed to supplement the regulation fare by any comestibles of their own; and rounds of cold beef, hams, meat-pies and sausages might be seen in abundance on the board, especially during the earlier weeks of the half-year. One of the Commoner Tutors attended to hear names called, and he usually remained a few minutes after the roll-call, in order to give the juniors time to finish their breakfasts before the commencement of breakfast-fagging.

The twelve magnates who ruled in Commoners seldom condescended to remain in hall after answering their names, during the tutor's stay. Nor, indeed, did they return there, until their breakfasts had been duly prepared by their attendants, of whom a very numerous staff was employed for the purpose. No sooner had the tutor taken himself off, than the whole of the juniors rose *en masse* from the tables, and betook themselves to work. A dozen or so knelt down in front of each of the fires, armed with long hazel-rods split open at the ends, to form extempore toasting-forks; and proceeded to fill large plates with slices of toast, which were gathered up, hot-and-hot, by the breakfast-fags, and laid before their masters. These, as we have said, sat at two small tables each holding six, and called "Senior" and "Junior mess." Here the twelve youthful Cæsars feasted

* See Glossary on word.

in royal state, surrounded by a multitude of servants, which might have matched the train of an Indian prince, or a Jamaica nabob. There was the "cook," whose function it was to preside over the frying of sausages, or grilling of fowl. There were his assistants, executing their work under his eye. There were the toasters, red as lobsters with the heat, but never presuming to rise from their knees till each had accomplished his mountain of toast. There were the breakfast-fags, laying the various dainties before their employers, and their helpers buttering toast and boiling eggs. There were the Fourth Book boys "on hall,"—a row of juniors seated on a cross-bench near at hand, ready to run on any errand on which it might suit "my lords" to send them. Never in after life, let their rank or wealth be ever so great, will those young demigods be waited upon with the same prompt and unhesitating obedience, which is accorded to them now.

In College, the scene was, as a whole, much the same, but different in many particulars. There was no tutor present to preserve order during any part of the proceedings; and the noise and bustle which began in Commoners after the tutor's departure, prevailed here from the first. No sooner were the doors open, than up rushed a tumultuous throng of juniors, besieging the three Hatches^b, and their attendant ministers, with a multitude of simultaneous demands, which Briareus himself could not have complied with. Every junior had to get his master's allowance of

^b The three hatches were those of the bread-butler, where bread and, at the other meals, cheese were given out; the beer-butler, where beer, butter and salt were dispensed; and White's man's (the hall-man that is), where knives, forks, and trenchers were obtained: who the original "White" may have been I cannot say. The hall-man's name in my day was Edwards.

bread, butter &c., as well as what was accounted a sufficient supply of knives, trenchers, &c., for his use. He was also at liberty to get his own—if he could ; but this latter feat was one rarely achieved. Having procured the required articles for the Præfect (or candle-keeper, as the case might be) who was his master, he proceeded, much after the same fashion as in Commoners, to toast the bread, and butter it when toasted, cook sausages, fry potatoes, run on errands, &c. ; only with this difference, that as there were not nearly so many juniors in College, as in the sister establishment,—notwithstanding that the fags in college were supplemented by the choristers,—the work was somewhat harder, and the Præfects were not so elaborately waited on. At what time the college juniors got their breakfasts it would puzzle any one, and themselves most of all, to say. They picked it up at odd times, when there was a lull in the fagging, or in the short interval after their masters had left the hall. Somehow or other they did get it ; at least, they never complained of hunger, or looked as though they suffered from it.

Breakfast over, another interval of half-an-hour or so ensued, and then the boys went in to lessons for an hour between eleven and twelve o'clock, and this was known as middle school. It was a somewhat strange arrangement of the day^c, and must, I imagine, have dated from times when the boys regularly attended the eleven o'clock chapel service. This, even in my time, was regularly kept up on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saints' days, and the boys were present on the two last-named occasions. The

^c The middle school for an hour lasted till somewhere about 1832 ; when the hour of breakfast was altered from 10 to 8½, the school-hours were then 7½ to 8½, and 9½ to 12.

other school-hours were, it is probable, originally arranged so as to fall in with the attendance in question; and when this ceased to be a daily habit, "middle school" for an hour took its place.

At twelve o'clock the College-boys went into Meads for their play-time, which lasted till two o'clock, with the interval of a sort of lunch in hall, at which their presence was not compulsory. This interval of two hours was a hard time for a College junior during the summer months. He had in general to go down to cricket the moment middle school was over, and was seldom allowed to leave the ground until afternoon school was on the point of commencing^d. How he contrived to learn any lessons at all, do any exercises, or get any food to satisfy his appetite, are mysteries beyond my power to explain. Somehow or other he *did* manage it, and that is all that can be said about it.

The Commoners had no "Meads" to resort to, but were allowed an hour's "leave out," in lieu thereof. On these occasions, and on those of going to Hills, and attending the cathedral service on Sunday, inferiors wore their hats, but upon no others. At all times of the day within the precincts of College and Commoners, inferiors went about hatless, December frosts, March winds, and April showers notwithstanding. This practice has been a good deal criticised, and declared by high authority to be

^d A College junior, in my day, was sometimes required to watch out much longer than this. On a whole holiday he would sometimes be sent down to Meads before breakfast, and kept there (except during the hour of the eleven o'clock chapel) during the whole day, until the dusk of the evening, and this under a broiling sun. His meals were brought down to him, and eaten on the ground. The practice was altered subsequently; only one hour's cricket-fagging being legal on school-days, and two on holidays.

incompatible with health. Here, as in the instance of the defective ventilation, no doubt the learned men are right, and injury *ought* to have arisen from the practice. Still there is the fact that it did not, and facts are stubborn things, even when they oppose scientific theories. I remember delicate boys coming to school, who had most probably never been allowed by careful mammas and nurses to get their feet wet, or go out in sharp weather without great coats and comforters—I have seen them turned out in a raw November fog, or a severe frost in the middle of December, without hat, overcoat, or goloshes, and nobody ever heard of their being a pin the worse for it! I never remember in those days realizing what a cold in the head meant. No one in truth, unless it was the hatter, had any real reason to complain of the old Wykehamical practice in this particular.

The hour of leave out was mostly passed by the Commoners at what was called “Commoner Field,” a meadow of some two or three acres in size, and a quarter of a mile or so distant from the school premises. It was not a very suitable piece of ground for the purpose, fully half of it being on a slope so considerable, that it was not possible to play cricket, or anything but a “long game” of football* on it. There was not room, in fact, for more than one match; and on match-days, consequently, those not engaged could do nothing but stand and look on. In the middle of the field stood a kind of wooden tent, the front of which could be thrown entirely open, or closed as jealously as a seraglio, ac-

* A game where there were no regular sides or “hots,” but the ball was simply kicked up and down the field, by any one who could get at it.

ording to the owner's pleasure. The said owner was one Burton, whom we boys always styled "Nevvy," he standing in the relation of sister's son to an old woman who went by the title of "Mother Argus," by reason of the keenness of sight as regarded her own interests, which popular report imputed to her. "Nevvy" was said by some of the boys to follow the trade of a tailor, at the times when he was not attending to their requirements, and by others that of a keeper of cows^f. Whatever his business may have been, if he throve as well in it, as he did in that which he pursued between twelve and one o'clock, he must long ago have realised a very comfortable independence.

An hour was but a short time for a cricket-match, which, in truth, sometimes extended over a week and more; and it was no wonder that the boys used up the hour, so to speak, to its very dregs. As soon as one o'clock struck, one of the Commoner servants appeared at the gate, key in hand, for the purpose of locking it. Such of the boys as chanced to be in sight, instantly raised the cry of "gate-locking," which was taken up by those half-way down College-street, and passed in this manner from lip to lip, until it reached those who were still engaged with bat and ball on the playing turf. "Keep gate o-*pen*," was telegraphed back, and the loiterers, gathering together bats and balls and clothes, began to hurry homewards as fast as they could run. Meanwhile, their directions were literally complied with. The unlucky janitor had a hard time of it. Twenty times would he endeavour to draw to the gate, and turn the key, and twenty times a new

^f I am told that he has recently died, and his cows fetched a considerable sum.

succession of stragglers would swoop down upon him and free the passage. At last there would come a gap of twenty paces, it might be, in the seemingly endless stream of revenants, and he would make a sudden rush, close the barrier in the teeth of a dozen remonstrants, and make off with all possible speed. The excluded were obliged to knock at the Doctor's door, and enter Commoners through his house,—not without leaving a record of their names, of which in due time they had to give account.

Meanwhile the rest of the boys were assembled at dinner, the arrangement of the hall being the same as at breakfast, excepting that the Præfects did not mess together, but were dispersed up and down the tables, with intervals of ten or twelve boys between each. The Commissariat in my day was, I consider, very good; we had roast beef on Sundays, boiled beef on Wednesdays, roast veal on Fridays, boiled mutton on Mondays, and roast mutton on the other three days. There was a sufficient supply of bread, beer, and potatoes, the latter dressed after a curious fashion, something between boiled and mashed, and served in tin pannikins, resembling a frying-pan without a handle. On Sundays a triangular wedge of plum-pudding^s was added; which last article, it needs not to say, was highly appreciated by the boys; some of whom would endeavour to secure more than their due share of the dainty, and occasionally succeeded, where the servant dispensing the viands was not sufficiently

^s It was a favourite practice to “change a pudding” with a College-boy; each, according to the natural perversity of human nature, preferring his neighbour's portion to his own. The puddings so interchanged were wont to be a kind of pledge of the *προξενία* existing between the parties.

wide awake. A boy having received his own lawful pudding and delivered it into safe custody, would creep behind the backs of his school-fellows, until he reached a void place, which, in all likelihood, had been purposely left so; here he would insinuate himself, and await with a perfect command of countenance the arrival of the pudding; and if the servant incautiously delivered over to him a second slice, there was no more hope of its recovery than if it had been swallowed up by the Goodwin Sands^h. On Thursdays there were apple-pies; in Cloister-time, gooseberry-pie.

On two days in the year the regulation fare was varied, by the addition to the dinner of pancakes on Shrove-Tuesday, and goose on Michaelmas-day; the latter was the most appreciated. One goose was allotted to every five boys, and was brought to table ready cut up. The expectant banqueters, eager to secure the best portions for themselves, were wont to sit, each with his fork uplifted, ready to plunge it into the choicest fragment he could see, the moment the dish was placed on the table. One of my school-fellows, who was extremely near-sighted, on one of these occasions, struck his weapon into what seemed to him a particularly tempting portion, when a loud yell of pain from the unfortunate servant, apprised him that he had thrust the fork into the man's hand, which he had mistaken for a goose's breast!

^h A story used to be told of the Rev. —, some time Commoner Tutor, that a servant came one day with a complaint, that "Mr. K. had got two puddings," expecting that "Mr. K." would be compelled to restore his prize, and suffer some pains and penalties into the bargain; but the Tutor took it differently, "Two puddings, has he? Ah, sharp fellow! get three if he can!"

Dinner over, a Latin grace was said by one of "the inferiors," who took it in turn to perform this duty; and then the boys dispersed for ten minutes or a quarter-of-an-hour, before the commencement of the third, or "afternoon school." This used to last for four mortal hours, and it followed immediately after the principal meal of the day! The reader will readily surmise the consequences. On a warm summer afternoon, half-an-hour after the commencement of school-time, any visitor would have been struck by the unusual quiet of the school, and looking carefully round him at the various groups, would have made the discovery that the quiet was easily accounted for, by the circumstance that two-thirds of the boys were asleep! Even the Hostiarius himself would occasionally so far succumb to human infirmity, as to give a drowsy nod or two during the first hour of his penance. About half-past four o'clock some concession was made, and the boys were allowed, during the summer months, to go out for a quarter-of-an-hour at what was called "beever time¹." They then returned to school, which was closed with prayers, read by Præfect of School, at six o'clock. The Commoners then returned to supper, which in no respect differed from their breakfast already described.

It was altogether a different matter with the College-boys. In the days of which I write, the college dinner was at six o'clock. As in the instance of breakfast, no Master was present to maintain order, or ensure the juniors getting their proper allowance of food; and the unanimous witness of all old Wykehamists of the date referred to, de-

¹ See Glossary on word.

clares that this particular period of the day was one of great and needless suffering to the younger boys. As for the food provided, it was good in quality and abundant in quantity. Whatever charges may be brought against the college authorities, that of stinting the boys in the matter of their meals would be wholly untenable. The meat was mutton on every day of the week excepting Sundays, when it was roast beef varied by veal in the spring of the year. Three puddings were allowed in the course of every week; the food, too, was well cooked, and nicely served. The whole mischief arose from want of order and method; the entire arrangements had, in the absence of any Master to overlook them, gradually lapsed into a general scramble, in which, of course, the weakest went to the wall.

The disposition of the tables, &c., in the College Hall should first be described. Upon the dais at the east end, was the place for the high-table, which, however, was only placed there in election-week, when it was occupied by the Warden and Fellows, and their principal guests; on either side, and running the reverse way, were two rows of tables; those on the north side were in part assigned to the Præfects, who were arranged in three messes, known as Tub, Middle, and Junior Mess: the table between them and the screen, and those on the opposite side were allotted to inferiors, who sat in six groups, each presided over by a "Candle-keeper¹." As soon as the Præfects had taken their seats, one of the cooks brought up the meat on a tray, the Præfect of Tub attending to see to its due distribution. The Præfects were served with joints, which they themselves carved, dining in perfect comfort; but the

¹ See Glossary on word.

portions of meat intended for the inferiors were brought up ready cut, the portions being distinguished by the name of "dispars." A leg-of-mutton was divided into eight such parts, and other joints in proportion. One of these cuts was apportioned to each boy; and if all had been allowed to get their portions, there would have been little to complain of. But no one, except a Candle-keeper, was allowed to secure his dispar by deputy; if he was not there to take it himself, it was forfeited: and not one junior in twenty could, by possibility, be in his place when the tray was brought round. No sooner had the Præfects seated themselves at table, than they discovered that they wanted each half-a-dozen things which had been overlooked. Juniors were despatched for salt, or pepper, or beer, or another knife, or pickles, or more bread, or any other article that might be wanting. They were soon seen rushing to and fro—to one of the hatches, to the kitchen, to the cellar, into school, perhaps, or meads, for something left behind; and had no sooner performed one errand, than they were despatched on another. By the time that the requirements of their masters had been fulfilled, all trace of the meat which should have been theirs had disappeared^k. To complete the Babel, the Senior and Deputy Candle-keeper were wont to stand during this time, sometimes in the middle of hall, and sometimes at its entrance, armed with ground-ashes, with which they slashed every junior who came within their reach, without preface or inquiry. Every time an unhappy fag had to descend the stairs in search of some article, or cross the hall, when he returned

^k Their dispar^s not claimed were thrown into Tub, and given to the poor.

with it, he fell under the manipulations of these modern Flagellants, getting at least one stinging cut as he passed. The original purpose of this strange practice seems to have been, that the two Candle-keepers were placed on the stairs or in the hall, to prevent the juniors from loitering on an errand; and it had come in time to be assumed, that every junior, as a matter of course, *was* loitering, and required thrashing¹. This outrageous custom was happily put a stop to many years ago: the Head-master came down one day unexpectedly, and was witness of the scene above described, when, it is needless to add, the evil was at once amended. The system has long undergone a total change. The dinner is at the same hour as it was in Commoners, one o'clock, and a Master is present to maintain order, and see that the juniors get their dinner in plenty and comfort.

Dinner in College, and tea in Commoners, having been concluded, there was another brief interval of a quarter-of-an-hour or twenty minutes, and then began "toy-time^m," which lasted from seven o'clock till half-past eight in Commoners, and from seven till eight in College. In the latter, the task of maintaining quiet was left entirely to the Præfects, though occasionally the Hostiarius, and more rarely the Informator, would make the round of the chambers. During this hour the Præfects sat at their washing-stools on either side of the fire, which on chilly evenings was continually replenished with fresh half-faggots, making the homely old chambers look bright

¹ Mr. Mansfield relates that, "to escape the purgatory above described, he has known boys lie concealed under the beer-butts in the cellar during the whole of Hall-time; and once a wretched fugitive was discovered hidden in the salt-tub, into which he had managed to creep, and had let the lid down over himself afterwards."

^m See Glossary on word.

and cheerful enough. This was almost the only time in the day when the juniors could learn their lessons and do their exercises without interruption.

At eight o'clock they laid aside their books, and the "valets" betook themselves to the preparation of their masters' "mess," usually consisting of tea or coffee, with "fixings," as the Yankees phrase it. Sometimes, however, it consisted of "made beer," a composition peculiar, I believe, to Winchester, consisting of the college allowance of beer mixed with sugar and nutmeg, &c., and duly bottled for keeping. In winter this supper was taken by the fireside in chambers; but in summer the washing-stools of the Præfects were placed in the recesses between the chapel buttresses, which formed a species of extempore tea-gardens, minus the penthouse overhead. At nine o'clock came evening chapel, when prayers were read by the junior Præfect, who stood, while reading, on one of the steps of the large pews immediately behind the seats of the Warden and Sub-warden, appropriated to the ladies connected with the college. After chapel the inferiors were required immediately to go to bed, the Præfects being allowed to sit up till ten. But as a matter of fact, very few boys did go to bed at nine, in any other sense of the word than that of taking off their clothes, and getting between the sheets. Their candles were almost always re-lighted as soon as extinguished, and for an hour at least, and often longer, the whole chamber was as busily employed as during toy-time. The practice was well known to their Masters; who, though they did not recognise it as lawful, seldom made any disturbance about it, if on entering the chamber, while making their rounds, they found the lights extinguished, and every boy

in his bed. According to ancient custom, a rush-light called the "functure" (or function), burned all night in the chambers. The ingenious contrivance by which the boys were awakened at any particular hour in the early morning, will be found in the Glossary under the word "Scheme."

In Commoners, order was preserved at toy-time in the same manner as at dinner, by the attendance, that is to say, of one of the Commoner Tutors, and the two Præfects in course, who occasionally paraded the room, after the fashion of the Ostiarius during school, and bestowed their sticks on the shoulders of any juniors who were making more than the permitted noise. At half-past eight o'clock the head-servant in Commoners would appear at the door, with a hassock and prayer-book, which he carried to the upper end of Commoner Table, removing the chair on which the Tutor had sat. Then the latter read the prayers, which will be found in the Appendix to this Chapter; and which, if they were not the composition of Dr. Williams, were at all events so exact an expression of his habit of thought and teaching, that any one might well be excused for supposing them to be soⁿ. After prayers names were called, and the boys went up to their bedrooms, with the exception of the Præfects, who were allowed, as in College, to sit up till ten o'clock. At nine the Tutor went round the rooms accompanied by the head-servant, to remove the candles. Sometimes the Tutors, and more rarely the Head-master, would make the tour of the rooms, at a later hour,

ⁿ Dr. Moberly afterwards substituted another Manual of Prayers, a greatly superior production, no doubt. But Old Commoners will have an affection for those of their own boyhood nevertheless. See Appendix to this Chapter.

to make sure that all the boys were in their beds. Some of the older and more daring would sometimes "shirk out" at night, climbing over the wall at the corner of the Tutor's study, and making their way through the wicket of College-gate, often left unfastened at night, or by the wall of Fellows' Meads into the town, where they would indulge in hot suppers, billiards, and other lawless pursuits; returning, it might be, an hour or two after midnight. The boys were seldom or never detected in these escapades, though information respecting them sometimes reached the authorities through irregular channels.

It would not be proper here to pass over a topic to which reference has already been made in Chap. xi., and which has been reserved as more suitable for this part of the work—the private devotions of the boys in their bedrooms. It has already been admitted, that previously to 1835 or so, it was a thing of very rare occurrence, if it occurred at all, for a boy to kneel down at his bedside in public to pray; and that subsequently to 1840, or thereabouts, it was a frequent, if not the common, usage. From these premises have been drawn two conclusions, very widely entertained in the present day—in the first place, that this change is due almost entirely to the influence of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby^o; and in the second, that there was no religion in public schools before the first-named of the above dates, and a good deal after it.

^o "Dr. Arnold, the *one great and sole* originator of the new life now breathed into public schools."—Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church." "The changes began to work *from the very day* when Dr. Arnold began his preaching," says Dr. Farrar.

Let us consider these two statements. I have not the smallest wish to diminish the honour rendered to Dr. Arnold ; who was, beyond question, one of the most earnest, sincere, and able of modern school-masters : but I consider that to impute to him the great change that has taken place in public schools is a grave mistake. First, let us consider *dates* a little. Tom Brown represents the scene of Arthur's kneeling to pray in public as occurring in the year 1836 ; and he adds, that the practice of saying their prayers openly in the presence of their school-fellows was then quite unknown in the school. Nor was it, he intimates, until some considerable time after the scene in question that the change occurred^p. "*Before Arnold died*" (1842), he writes, "the rule was the other way ;" but he does not represent it as universal even then.

Turn to the records of Winchester. The Hostiarius, at that time Mr. Wordsworth, in his address to the Præfects on *Easter Eve*, 1838, urges on them the duty of themselves practising, and securing for the juniors the facility of practising, private prayer in the sight of their school-fellows. A year subsequently, he expresses his thankfulness that his advice and entreaty had had the desired effect, and that the "*practice of openly offering private prayers had become general in chambers*"^q. To commemorate the occasion, he gave a copy of Ken's prose works to the library, with a Latin inscription, and the Præfects' names written in it. Similarly and simultaneously

^p Tom Brown's fight with Williams was in Arthur's first half-year ; and the fight took place, we are told, six years before the Doctor's death. He died in the summer of 1842, therefore the scene in Arthur's bedroom occurred in the spring of 1836.

^q "Christian Boyhood," vol. i.

Dr. Moberly made a representation to the Commoner Præfects, requesting them to insist on silence at nine o'clock in all the bedrooms, to allow of the boys saying their prayers undisturbed in public ; and this was strictly carried out from that time forth.

It may perhaps be urged, that although these two men carried out their reforms at Winchester, previously to those at Rugby, on which so much stress has been laid,—that they were, nevertheless, only practising a lesson which, after all, they had learned from Arnold. But this was not the case. “It is due to the memory of Dr. Arnold,” writes Mr. Wordsworth, in a note appended to his Sermon of 1838, “to mention that the above was written *in entire ignorance* of the great work which he was doing, and had already done, at Rugby.” I am aware of what Dr. Moberly has said on this subject in his Letter to Dr. Stanley ; but I think his meaning has been a good deal misapprehended. He acknowledges gracefully, that Dr. Arnold was his predecessor in the great work in which both were engaged, and that he had derived help and encouragement from his example ; but he surely does not mean to say (as has been assumed) that, but for Arnold, he would never have taught as he had done.

The truth is, that it would be a grievous mistake to attribute to any man, however wise or earnest, the improvement which may take place in the religious tone of any generation. The Holy Spirit, their real author, does not work by any one man only, but by unnumbered agencies, preparing the way for changes, which, without such preparation, could not take place. It was not in public schools only that “a striking change” had occurred in respect of the religious habits of the day. Men still living remem-

ber churches empty, communions rare, and with scarcely a communicant, intemperance and profaneness of language openly tolerated in society, the murderous habit of duelling complied with even by religious men^r. In all these respects a radical alteration has been effected. It is surely no wonder if boys going to school from homes thus ameliorated, were prepared to receive spiritual instruction in a manner which their predecessors would have rejected; and their teachers, in consequence, reaped a harvest which, in a previous generation, could not have been gathered in. All honour to the faithful labourers in that good work, among whom Arnold stands forth one of the ablest and best; but to ascribe to him (as Mr. Ward and others have done) the "Regeneration of Public Schools," is not only untrue, but extravagant and absurd.

A word or two further will not be out of place as to the religious condition of public schools some fifty years ago. It has been assumed that public school-boys then were universally godless. "Such a thing as a religious public school-boy was hardly to be found." "If such a phenomenon had appeared, he would have been a mark for general scorn and ridicule." These are the statements of one^s, beyond question well qualified to judge this matter. But they were made at the outset, not the close, of his long career. Would his matured experience endorse them? I must own, I doubt it. The mistake appears to me to have been made, I do not say by him, but by many, of confounding outward profession with inward belief. Mr. Hughes, for instance, assumes that because a boy did not kneel down to pray in

^r As, e.g., Sir Henry Lawrence : see his Life.

^s Bishop Moberly, Stanley's life of Arnold, i. 272.

the sight of his school-fellows,—none of whom did so, —he was, at best, an unfaithful servant¹. But where does Mr. Hughes find any command to say private prayers in public? The publicity of the procedure, far from being commanded, is even forbidden by the Highest of all Authorities. The essence of private prayer is, that it is between God and the human soul alone; and to call in the witness of others to its performance, is to impair, if not destroy, its value. A religious boy, in the presence of irreligious companions, would instinctively feel this, and shrink from attracting their attention to his private devotions. But, in the times referred to, there were boys (and *many* boys) who offered their prayers as sincerely and reverently as any have done in more favoured times. I have the clearest evidence of this, and from many sources; but in such a matter individual names cannot be brought forward. They said their prayers at such times as offered a few minutes of privacy, or in bed at night—when the witness of others was withdrawn—to the Father who seeth in secret. And so with other things. They heard blasphemy and obscenity often enough, no doubt, on the lips of their school-fellows, and did not rebuke it in any other way than by taking no part in it. But was not their silence the most effective of all rebukes? There were boys from whose lips no profane or impure word ever fell, who would not take part in the foul songs by which, at certain times of the year, the school was disgraced; whose lives were a quiet, but emphatic, protest against

¹ So it had come to pass with Tom, as with all who will not confess their Lord before men; and for the last year he had probably not said his prayers in earnest a dozen times.—“Tom Brown,” Part II. chap. i.

the evil that was rampant round them ; and, far from such as these being the mark for general scorn and mockery, even the worst boys in the school would secretly respect them, and even refrain in their presence from their habitual blasphemy and licence of speech^u. To speak my plain mind on this subject, I should say, that dark and sad as was the spiritual state of school-boys in the times of which I write, there were, nevertheless, as many real servants of God among them, as ever there have been before or since.

^u Boys—even the worst boys—are not offended at the presence of real piety and purity of heart, but only at their presumed counterfeits. They are unusually quick at detecting hollowness of character, and set no bounds to their dislike, where they believe this to exist. But such school-fellows as they think real and genuine always command their respect, and even admiration.



Going to "Hills."

CHAPTER XVI.

SCHOOL-LIFE.—A REMEDY.

SUCH was the ordinary school-day at Winchester; and about four days in every week, it should be observed, were “school” (that is to say *whole* school) days. Unless the recurrence of some Saint’s day threw out the weekly arrangements, every Monday and Wednesday were whole school-days; as were also Fridays and Saturdays—excepting only that on the former day the boys went to the chapel service between eleven and twelve a.m., and on the latter between four and five p.m. During that portion of the year which was known as “common time,” lasting throughout the whole of the short half-year, and from the beginning of the long half to the middle of March—either the Tuesday was a whole, and the Thursday a half, remedy, or *vice versâ*, Thursday was the whole remedy, and Tuesday the half. During “Easter-time,” which was for six weeks, from the middle of March till the end of April, Tuesdays and Thursdays were whole holidays. Throughout “Cloister-time,” which occupied the whole interval between “Easter-time” and the end of the summer half, Tuesdays and Thursdays were both whole remedies.

The meaning of this word “remedy” has been a matter of some dispute. It has been interpreted to signify that the day of recreation was, as it were, a “healing measure,” to prevent over-work. Others expound it as “*res media*,” a compound as it were of a holiday and a school-day—there being no lessons to be said in school, in which respect it re-

sembled a holiday; and there being lessons to be learned during lock-up times, in which particular it was almost the same as a school-day. But neither of these explanations is so satisfactory as that which derives it from "remissionis dies," a day when certain work, but not *all* work, was remitted. The continual use of the word "remission" in Wykehamical speech—"remission from task," "remission from Hills," "remission from vulgus, &c.,"—is almost decisive on this point.

The manner in which it was granted was remarkable, and is one proof, among innumerable others, of the antiquity of most of the school-customs. After morning chapel, when the masters came forth at the head of the procession, it was usual for the Informator to walk, as it were, the quarter-deck, on the flat piece of stone paving which lies under and adjoining the chapel buttresses; which portion of the quadrangle is known to the boys as "sands." If the Tuesday morning happened to be fine, the boys, of course, desired to secure that day as a whole remedy. Thursday might be wet, and besides they held with the proverb, that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Accordingly "the Warden's child^a," the messenger of the Præfect of Hall, would approach the Head-master as "stately stepped he east the wa', and stately stepped he west," and presenting the Præfect's compliments, requested that the day might be a whole remedy. If the great man thought fit to grant the petition, he would draw off from his finger a certain ring, traditionally known as the "remedy-ring," and deliver it to the applicant, in token of assent. If there

^a See Glossary, "Child."

was any hitch, the Præfect of Hall would interfere, but not unless there was a "dignus vindice nodus." This curious custom carries us back a long way in English History, to times when few men, comparatively, being able to write, tokens of one kind or another were sent along with messages to certify their genuineness. How early the practice of giving the remedy-ring began, is, I believe, unknown. But it certainly existed as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Christopher Johnson describes the process of asking for and receiving the ring^b; which in his time gave the Præfect of Hall the right to take the boys on to "Hills," into "Meads," or, in cold weather, to the Hall fire. Johnson also records that when the ring had been bestowed, the Præfect of Hall held it up on high for all to behold, and straightway ensued the closing of scobs, and the muster at gate. The ancient inscription on the remedy-ring was "Potentiam gero feroque;" the more modern one, "commendat rarior usus." At morning school, on the following day, the ring which had been worn throughout the remedy by the Præfect of School, was duly restored to the Head-master's custody.

As soon as the glad tidings that the remedy was given had circulated through the school, the boys began to assemble at "gates," as the phrase was—the College-boys in middle court, and the Com-

^b "Si modo lux aderit, Martisve Jovisve serena,
Grata Catharini visemus culmina montis,
Otia Pædonomus dederit si forte petenti
Signifer ad pueros mittatur ut annulus, æquam
Aureus ad Montes, ad Prata potentiam eundi
'Qui gerit atque refert,' et ad Aulam, cum datur ignis.
Annulus at venia obtentâ repetendus ab ipso
Est Domino Ludi; Præfectus tollat in altum.
Protinus excussæ resonabunt verbere cistæ."

moners in seventh chamber-passage and school-court. Previously to setting out, the Præfect of Hall made the tour of Commoners, to make sure that no junior was lurking there intending to shirk Hills. As a general rule, no College Præfect had any authority in Commoners; but on this occasion and on some others—as for instance when the Ostiarius was sent towards the end of afternoon school with some of the juniors into Commoners, to overlook them while taking their suppers—he had the same power over them which he would have had in College^c.

Returning from Commoners, the Præfect of Hall gave the signal, and the procession started for Hills. The College boys led the way, walking two and two, the seniors first, the juniors behind, and the Commoners following in the same order. The Præfects, both College and Commoner, did not condescend to walk in the same troop with the rank-and-file. They paced along at their leisure in the road, while the *ignobile vulgus* kept to the foot-path. Thus they progressed, the juniors at a half-trot to keep up with their elders—under the wall of the Warden's garden, by "Warden's stream;" over Black-bridge, past Commoner Field, and Domum Wharf; across the two intervening fields, with their peculiarly-constructed stiles (which it was the especial boast of any boy to be able to clear at a leap), to the foot of St. Catherine's. Ever and anon some big inferior, who would not condescend to keep the same pace with his neighbours, would make what was called "a run,"

^c At no time, and under no circumstances, could a College Præfect fag a Commoner junior. But if the latter broke the rules, the College officer whose authority had been set at nought, might thrash him; as also, of course, for personal impertinence.

—a gap, that is, in the orderly line of the procession, which obliged those behind to take to their heels in order to close the ranks. If this caught the eye of the Præfect of Hall, forthwith his ground-ash would descend on the shoulders of the offender—with all the more gusto if the delinquent chanced to be a “big Commoner,” — an article which, for whatever reason, always roused the bile of a College Præfect, whenever he encountered it.

When the third stile had been surmounted, if no Master appeared to call names, the party, so to speak, broke up. The Præfects and the Inferiors, whom they were allowed to take with them, went off in whatever direction they pleased; while the rank-and-file laboriously ascended the steep side of St. Catherine, along the edge of the chalk-pit, following the well-worn path, which here and there was varied by steps cut in the turf, until about three-quarters of the ascent had been accomplished. Here a broad deep trench had been excavated, in times long past, encircling the whole summit of the hill. As soon as this point was reached, the boys broke their ranks and dispersed, each to follow his own fancies, until the time came for returning home again—always, however, careful to keep to the space inside the limit of the trench; venturing beyond which, would have rendered them liable to the jurisdiction of the Præfect of Hall.

St. Catherine's Hill has always been one of the spots accounted especially sacred in the eyes of Wykehamists. It derives its name from the well-known Virgin-martyr of Alexandria, traditionally reported to have been put to death by the fearful torture of being rolled on a wheel stuck with knives, in the Maxentian persecution. An oratory erected

in her honour^d formerly stood on the highest point of the hill, resembling, probably, the ancient chapel which still surmounts St. Catherine's down at the back of the Isle of Wight. This building, as we are informed by Leland, was destroyed by Wolsey during his brief tenure of the See of Winchester, and its revenues confiscated for the benefit of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford^e. The present crowning ornament of the heights, the noble clump of firs and beeches, was planted by a company of the Gloucestershire Militia, who on one occasion, towards the end of the last century, encamped on St. Catherine's. The entrenchments, which are still clearly traceable immediately adjoining the "clump," were long accounted the remains of a Roman camp,—the *æstiva castra*, in fact, of the Roman legion stationed at Venta; but it was shewn in Chapter i. that there is no trustworthy evidence that Venta was ever the head-quarters of a Roman legion; and the ablest antiquaries of the present day are inclined to believe these earthworks to be British.

Similarly the trench itself, environing the crest of the hill, and forming the boundary beyond which the Inferiors on Hills were not allowed to pass, has been traditionally assigned to the Danes. Thomas Warton, in his fine poem on "Mons Catharina," speaks of

" *Danorum veteres fossas, immania castra;* "

^d "A great many high hills," says Milner, "in the south of England are called after St. Catherine, and formerly had chapels upon them dedicated in her name. This circumstance seems to have proceeded from the legend, which relates that the body of that saint was buried on Mount Sinai."—Milner, p. 190.

^e "There was a very faire Chapelle of St. Catarine, on an hill scant half-a-mile without Winchester town by south. Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, caused it to be suppressed as I heard say."—Leland, *Itin.*, iii. p. 102.

and Lord Selborne, following the same theory, relates how

—"the black-gowned troop of brothers went winding up the hill.

There in the hollow trench, which the *Danish Pirate* made,
And through the broad encampment, the peaceful Scholars played."

But these are mere guesses: there is no trustworthy historical authority for assigning the work in question to any particular person or period. Some of the chronicles, indeed, have declared the trench to have been excavated by Cerdic the Saxon, when he laid siege to Winchester; but it has already been shewn that there is nothing like proof that Cerdic ever laid siege to Winchester at all. Again, though writers of credit declare that the Danes in the middle of the ninth century attacked and partially captured Winchester, they do not speak of any encampment having been formed in the neighbourhood of the city; on the contrary, it is evident that their visit was a hurried one, allowing them scarcely time to collect their booty, and then resume their march.

Another, and a much more modern work is (or was until quite recently) to be seen in the midst of the ancient entrenchment. This is the labyrinth, alleged to have been cut out by the author of "*Dulce Domum*," during the period of his enforced detention in college. This story will be considered in another chapter. I remember when this "Maze" was renewed by Warden Barter's order, not long after his election to office. We boys expressed ourselves as anything but grateful for his kindness, as it interfered with the "long game" at football played during morning Hills, over the exact spot where the laby-

rinth had been cut. However, the good Warden happily never heard our remarks.

The two hours and more which juniors had to pass on the top of Hills were, it must be allowed, sometimes a severe trial, even for boys, to undergo. On a February morning, when a sharp east wind would come over the bare downs, freezing the very blood in one's veins, and rendering it impossible to play even at rounders or foot-ball in the face of it, we were hard driven to make any stand against it at all. A troop of cowering wretches would be seen to leeward of the clump, having constructed an extempore tent with gorse or patches of furze, and lighting a fire of twigs and dry leaves, which just gave warmth enough to keep us going; but on other days it was pleasant enough. In the summer months, junior match between College and Commoners was usually played at this time, and absorbed the interest of all; and in the autumn and spring, quoits, leap-frog, rounders, and other like amusements made out the time well enough.

For those favoured individuals who were taken off Hills by the Præfects, it was all enjoyment and no hardship. The whole country was free for them to traverse, the town of Winchester alone being tabooed. Some would set off for a brisk "charge" to Compton, or Otterbourne; some would repair to St. Cross, and revel in a breakfast of their own ordering, albeit no whit better than that which they would get for nothing an hour or so afterwards; some would pay a (wholly unsolicited) visit to Mr. Bridger's farm-yard, where they would chase the good man's fowls, worry his pigs, and chaff his labourers to the last extremity of aggravation; others, if the season was summer, would enjoy a delicious bathe in "Pot,"

as the lock lying immediately under St. Catherine's down was called; while others, more particularly during the spring and autumn months, would follow "the badger in water-meads."

How old the practice of hunting the ill-starred animal in question may be, is more than I am able to say. It was traditionally believed in my time to be very old; and it probably had taken the place of some much rougher and more cruel sports. Bull-baiting and cock-fighting were amusements at which boys would have been allowed to be present without objection on the part of their Masters, as far as the middle, or even latter part, of the last century. At Eton, the ancient practice of "hunting the ram^f" was kept up as late as the year 1747, and was regularly recognised by the school authorities. How far the badger-hunting was permitted at Winchester, was a point I never was able to determine: that the Masters must have been fully aware of the practice, cannot be doubted. The owner of the animal in question was as well known as the clump on the top of Hills; and any morning, at particular seasons of the year, he might be seen with his dogs, and his sack over his shoulder, quietly awaiting the arrival of the boys, as soon as the ceremony of calling names had been completed. So far as I could perceive, the Masters resolutely ignored his presence, either looking in a different direction, or being afflicted with a sudden shortness of sight. It is said that Dr. Williams would sometimes ride after the

^f "In the year 1688, in one of the half-yearly bills sent by the Head-master of Eton to the parents of a boy named Patrick, is a charge for 'a bat and ram-club, ninepence;' and in 1730, it is on record that the Duke of Cumberland (of Culloden notoriety) attended the sport, and was presented with a ram-club, with which he struck the first blow."—*Etoniana*, p. 156.

boys, when he saw them engaged in the chase ; but I apprehend, if he did, it was simply a demonstration on his part. I never heard of his catching, much less of his punishing, any one.

Whatever objections humanitarians may raise to the practice, it was certainly much less cruel than fox, or hare, or stag hunting. It did, indeed, in a great measure resemble the latter, in that the same quarry was reserved, again and again, for use ; but there was hardly the same danger of the animal being mangled by the dogs, the badger being at least a match for his assailants. It was a most exciting scene, any way. As soon as the sack was opened, the badger would issue forth and make straight off, running at a pace which kept an active pursuer well up to his work to follow. A considerable start was generally allowed him, the dogs being held tight by the collar till the signal was given. Then the whole throng poured after him, leaping fences and ditches, and scrambling through hedges, at a pace which soon brought them much nearer to the badger than was by any means agreeable to him. Straightway, he would turn into the water-meadows, which cover nearly the whole ground between the old barge river and the modern water-way. Here, there were pieces of water too wide to be leaped, and too deep to be waded. Into one of these he would plunge, and swim straight across as fast as an otter. Without hesitation, the whole throng (or such, at all events, as were able to swim) would plunge in after him, scrambling out the other side, wet from head to foot, but as eager in pursuit as ever. All this time the dogs were held in a leash by the huntsman (as he might be termed), as they would speedily have come up with the badger, and

have checked his flight. At last, when it became evident that the boys were too much exhausted to continue the chase, the leashes were slipped, and the dogs rushing up pinned their enemy, and checked his further flight. The field now came up, and their first care was to separate the combatants,—a matter which was not accomplished without some difficulty and danger, both badger and terrier holding on to one another with a grip like that of a steel vice. The usual process,—not, it must be admitted, a very attractive one,—was for two of the party to seize the tails of the animals between their teeth, and bite them so sharply that the pain induced them to let go their hold. Even then there was need for considerable caution, lest the badger should chance to transfer his hold from the dog to his new assailant; in which case the latter would probably sustain serious injury. When the unlucky beast was at last shaken clear of the dog, he was transferred to his sack again, and re-appeared no more till the next morning Hills.

This had seldom been accomplished before the arrival of the time for returning home. The latter was notified to all within hearing by the three juniors in College, two of whom walked opposite ways round the edge of the trench, while the third crossed the crown of the hill, intoning “domum.” Then the boys collected together in the trench, immediately over the foot-path by which they had ascended; and at the call of “on” from the Præfect of Hall below, they streamed down the hill side to third stile, and returned home in the same order which they had observed in coming. If rain came on during Hill-time, the Præfect of Hall either himself shouted to the boys on the top, or sent a message

to announce "skirmishing on,"—permission, that is to say, to make their way homeward in the best way they could.

Names were generally called, sometimes on the way out, sometimes on the way homeward, sometimes on both, by the Informator or Hostiarius. It was, however, quite a matter of uncertainty. Frequently it would happen, as we crossed the last field on the path to Hills, that we caught sight of the Doctor mounted on his white horse, cantering along between the lines of double hedge (as the old road from St. Cross to Twyford was called) to meet the procession at Tonbridge. Frequently, when we were returning home, and were just entering College-street, deploring perhaps that we had not, like some of our more venturous neighbours, "shirked" Hills in order to see the match in Meads, the Second Master would suddenly issue forth from outer gate, and our lamentations were changed into rejoicing.

After breakfast, from about a quarter to eleven to twelve o'clock, the College-boys were required to remain in school, and the Commoners in their hall, the Præfects keeping order, though no Master was present. This was called "Books-chamber-time," and obviously dates from times previous to the building of the large school, when the College-boys retired to their "chambers" for study. In College, this time resembled as nearly as possible what has already been described as "toy-time;" in Commoners, it was much less strictly kept. The only check on the boys was the possibility of a visit from the Doctor, who might chance to look in and make sure that all was in order; and if he had found the hall in a disorderly state, he would have punished the Præfects of course pretty sharply. But this was

a rare occurrence, and the Præfects in general gave themselves no further trouble, than by obliging the juniors to keep their seats, and avoid any excessive noise which might reach the ears of the Tutors, and provoke remonstrance.

At two o'clock the boys again repaired to what were called "middle Hills;" the proceedings being exactly similar to those of the morning, excepting only that the time of remaining on St. Catherine's was very much shorter. Then followed another "Books-chamber-time;" then supper; and then, during the summer months, a third pilgrimage to St. Catherine's, known as "evening Hills." On this last occasion, however, the boys were not required to mount to the top, as in the two former instances, but were allowed to disport themselves on the banks of the Itchen, and in the adjoining water-meadows. "Evening Hills," it should be explained, did not take place on holidays, or "remedies" only, but on every evening in the week excepting Sundays. This hour of summer twilight, passed amid these fresh green glades and sparkling waters, was certainly the most enjoyable throughout the Wykehamical year. There was rest and refreshment for the weary junior, who at this time had no drudgery to perform for his boy-masters, and was free for the nonce to enjoy himself after his own fancy. A favourite employment with the younger boys at this season was to construct "arbours." In the heart of a large hazel-bush, or among the branches of an umbrageous tree, they would, Robinson Crusoe-like, fashion for themselves a kind of large nest, cutting away boughs here and there, and interweaving others so as to stop up gaps in the foliage, and produce a screen impervious to the eyes of the outer world. Into these holes

they would creep, two or three friends together, as the case might be, and talk, or read, or lie lazily enjoying the "*dolce far niente*," as none but boys are capable of doing. Nothing could be more complete than their enjoyment; but the reader will not be surprised to hear, that the tenant of the property in which these sylvan dwellings were extemporised, did not regard them in the same light as did the builders themselves. He was wont, every now and then, to indulge in some very strong representations as to the damage done to his property by their construction; and probably would not have confined himself to remonstrances, if long experience had not taught him the utter hopelessness of any attempt either to prevent the mischief yet to come, or obtain reparation for that already done.

But the chief recreation at evening Hills was bathing. It was *de rigueur* that every boy should bathe at least once or twice in every week. Some were so greatly addicted to the practice, that they might be said to pass the greater part of a remedy, or holiday, in the water. They would begin by a dip in "Pot" at morning Hills, supposing them, that is, to belong to the privileged class, which was not confined to the circuit of the trench. "Pot" was a good, though a somewhat peculiar, bathing-place. It was simply a lock on the barge river, the navigation of which was not a very profitable concern, and the locks were, in consequence, of a rude construction, and not in very good order. But it was deep enough to allow a bold swimmer to take a vigorous plunge, without fear of striking his head against the bottom. It was the correct thing for a boy to undress on the turf near the upper end of the lock, and then, after making a run, spring clear over the long

projecting handle of the lock-gate, alighting on his head in the middle of "Pot," shooting down to its very bottom, and rising again at the further end, amidst the boiling foam, whence the bathing-place derived its name. Some would essay the more venturesome feat of plunging in above the lock and diving through the open hatch, which a school-fellow held up while he passed. There used to be a vague tradition current in my time, of one of the Præfects having lost his life while attempting this manœuvre, the boy above having let down the hatch prematurely on his leg, and being unable to raise it again ; but I never could meet with any authentic information on the subject, and imagine it to be a perverted version of the death of Bingham, Præfect of Hall in 1780 ; who was drowned in "Pot," not in the manner described, but in consequence of his having been seized with cramp.

The favourite bathing-place of the juniors was Tonbridge, which lay close to the "third stile," distant not more than half-a-mile from college, and consequently much more accessible than "Pot," at the hour of leave out. This was the scene of the famous ducking of the purveyor of illicit spirits, who was pitched off the middle of Tonbridge by the Præfect of Hall and his coadjutors. The water is nowhere more than four feet deep, and he, it appears, was a tall man ; therefore the assertion which he made before the magistrates, that he narrowly escaped drowning, must have been a considerable effort of imagination. In Tonbridge, such of the newcomers as were unable to swim were wont to receive their first lesson in that art. If they exhibited a willingness to learn, they commonly found some school-fellow good-natured enough to undertake their educa-

tion in a manner agreeable to all parties ; but if the tyro was disposed, in Wykehamical phrase, to be pruff^g, his initiation was of the simplest, if not of the most agreeable, character. He was straightway disrobed, and carried to the water-side, where four boys, seizing each an arm or a leg, launched him into the deepest piece of water they could find ; he was then obliged to make his way, in the best manner he could, to the other side. It was surprising how soon he learned to support himself, and strike out with his arms and legs. No boy was allowed, in my time, to bathe in "Pot," who had not accomplished the feat of swimming a certain specified distance.

Besides these two principal bathing-places, there were others scattered over the adjoining water-meadows, which were often used, by seniors and juniors alike, when they were too lazily disposed to journey as far as "Pot." These were, for the most part, deep pits, in which the water was collected from the stream diffused in a thousand sparkling rills over the meadows. The hard chalk bottoms and steep sides of these cavities, no less than the bright cool waters which filled them to the brim, made these delicious places for a bathe. We used to call them by all manner of fanciful names, which, it may be, have long perished from school-memory — "Dalmatia," "Tempe," "Adam and Eve," &c. Alas, how few are they, by comparison now, who can even recall the existence of some of these spots.

It was in "Adam and Eve," if I remember right, that the terrible casualty of the loss of the remedy-ring occurred in the year 1831. The reader has heard that this mystic ring was delivered by the Informator to the boys on a remedy morning, and

* See Glossary on word.

was duly returned by the latter the same evening ; but it chanced upon one occasion, towards the end of the long-half, that the Præfect of School, while undressing, allowed the precious circlet in question to slip from his finger. Straightway it rolled down the steep bank and disappeared in the waters. Every effort was made to recover it, but in vain. The Præfect of School was obliged to return ringless to college, and keep out of the Head-master's way, as well as he could, during the next twenty-four hours. On the following evening the search was recommenced, the Præfect on this occasion being aided by some of the best divers in the school. After an hour of fruitless effort, just when they were on the point of abandoning the attempt, one of the party was fortunate enough to light upon it in the hole in the bank where it had lain concealed : and the same evening it was restored to the lordly finger of the Informator, who little dreamed what a narrow escape he had had of parting with the venerable ornament for good and all.

CHAPTER XVII.

SCHOOL-LIFE.—HOLIDAYS AND SUNDAYS.

THE reader has now heard the particulars of a boy's school-work throughout the week, during every period of the Wykehamical year. But this was liable to frequent interruption, from the occurrence of certain whole and half holidays, which the traditions of the school, from the earliest time, sanctioned, if they did not absolutely order. Among these were, first, the Saints'-days^a, of which, even in our present Calendar, there are nearly thirty; while previously to the Reformation there were many more^b. Some dozen of these fell during the Christmas or Midsummer holidays; but fully twenty occurred in the course of the forty weeks of school-work—one, on an average, in every fortnight. Besides these, there were the Founder's Commemorations, four in every year, and the day of the Founder's "obit," or death. When a Saint's-day fell on a Monday, or Wednesday, a Friday, or a Saturday, it caused a considerable dislocation of the week's work. If the Saint's-day, for instance, came on Monday, Tuesday would be a whole school-day; and if it fell on a Wednesday, the Tuesday and Thursday would probably each be

^a The Founder ordered that on the occasion of some twenty of the principal festivals, all the members of the Wykehamical body "*lautius epulentur*." The chapel services which he orders on these and other Saints'-days, would of themselves almost employ the entire day. No lessons could have been done on them.

^b The Feast of St. Nicolas, St. Thomas à Becket, Corpus Christi, the Translation of St. Swithun, the Assumption of the Virgin, her Nativity and Conception, are among those marked by Wykeham for special rejoicing.

a half-remedy ; similarly, if it came on a Friday, the Thursday would be a whole school-day. It is a matter of surprise that a practice like this, interfering so seriously with the regular course of study, should have continued so long. The observance of the Saint's-day itself was one thing, the disorganizing the school-work another. It would have been quite possible to send the boys into the chapel for an hour's service and sermon on the Saint's-day itself, and permit the extra leave out, and privileges connected with the occasion, to take place on the Tuesday or Thursday nearest to the day. It was not that the lessons only were thrown out by the variation in the days and hours thus introduced ; the weekly exercises were interfered with also. If Wednesdays or Fridays chanced to be holidays, no prose or verse-task at all was done in that week. Those only who know how completely boys are creatures of habit, can imagine how grave an interruption to the half-year's work these irregularities were.

Besides these, there were certain half-holidays, granted generally on Friday afternoons, for special reasons. Sometimes an old Wykehamist had obtained a first class, or an open scholarship ; sometimes a great man visited Winchester, and was solicited by the boys to petition the Head-master ; sometimes the arrival was not of a great, but of a very small man or woman, in the shape of an addition to the family of one of the Masters ; sometimes a number of old Wykehamists had come to see the old place again, and wanted to play a match with the school eleven. In the course of the summer half-year there were generally a good many occasions of this kind ; and these perhaps were no great harm

towards the end of the long half-year ; when, after nearly five months of continuous work, the boys were beginning to feel the absolute necessity of some relaxation.

On a whole holiday, the boys went to Hills at the same times as on remedies ; and the only difference, so far as related to College, was that there were no "Books-chamber-times." This, so far as a junior was concerned, was often anything but a source of enjoyment. As has been already pointed out, it simply entailed upon him the possibility of having to watch out from morning till nightfall, without a moment's pause, except between eleven and twelve. In Commoners it was not so bad. Here there were three "leaves out" on a holiday—between 10 and 11, between 12 and 1, and between 4 and 5. He might be sent down to cricket on all three occasions, though that was not likely, but he could not be kept at it for more than an hour together.

But the great enjoyment of a Saint's-day was the "leave out" to friends in the town or country, which was permitted on those occasions. If a boy had any distance to go, say four or five miles, he was suffered to depart immediately after chapel ; if his friends resided in the town, he could not leave the college earlier than twelve o'clock. All were required to be back by nine o'clock at latest.

In general, a great deal of kindness was shewn the boys by residents in the neighbourhood, as well as in the town ; and in truth the boys never shewed better than on these occasions. For some days before the arrival of the Saint's-day, there used to be a good deal of anxiety in the school, as to whether they would be among the favoured ones or not. Some friend had given a general promise of asking

them perhaps, but general promises are apt to be forgotten; or the friend might be absent from home, or ill, or otherwise engaged, or a hundred things. When the time for giving out the "leave-out roll" arrived (everything of the kind was called "a roll"), the Warden's or Head-master's door would be beset by an expectant crowd; who seized upon the precious document the moment it appeared, with as much anxiety as though it had been the "appel nominal" in the days of the French Revolution. Those who found their hopes of leave-out into the country confirmed, hurried off to the gig or carriage which was to convey them to their entertainer's house; those who were invited to friends in the town, made up their plans for the day's amusement. The disappointed ones would growl and grumble, and perhaps bestow a few flowers of rhetoric on their anticipated hosts, who had proved faithless.

Some boys, of course, were much more fortunate than others in this respect. A few had parents or relatives living in the town, and were free to go to them, not only on every holiday, but for an hour or two on Sundays also; others would pass the whole half-year, in some instances the whole of their stay at the school, without being so much as once invited out. The Assize-week, which brought a host of Wykehamical barristers from London, was a time much looked to by those who were never asked out at any other occasion; large parties used to be made up at the "George," and every one who could claim any kind of acquaintance with a barrister would be sure to get an invitation. It was a great treat to go up to the courts (where a college gown was a sure ticket of admission), and sit under the shadow of Arthur's round table (it *ought* to have

been his, if it was not), and hear some country lout tried for duck-stealing, or aggravated assault.

When this special source of enjoyment was not forthcoming, a favourite diversion used to be hiring one of Billy Etherege's boats, for a row on the river on the northern side of the town. Etherege, it should be explained, had been in his day the head-servant in Commoners, and knew all about Wykehamists and their ways. He had retired to a public-house in Winnall, and was generally believed to have a very keen appreciation of the goodness of his own ale. He kept two boats, which he was always ready to let out to the boys, without many preliminary inquiries as to their proficiency in rowing. But, in truth, there was no great need of anxiety on that score; I doubt whether the boys could have upset the boats, if they had tried. The solid oaken eight-oars, in which the University races were wont to be rowed in the days of old Stephen Davis, of Oxford renown,—a specimen of which was long preserved as a curiosity,—these were wagger wherries compared with Etherege's tubs. The rowers had to labour like galley-slaves to move them at all, and the utmost exertions could not propel them at the rate of two miles an hour. But it was something the boys could not do, except on rare occasions, and that was enough to give it a charm in their eyes. When Mr. Wordsworth was Second Master he brought down an eight-oar from Oxford, in which he would sometimes take out a party of boys. This of course was highly appreciated, but I fear it robbed Etherege's boats of the charms they had once possessed in the eyes of the school.

The chapel-service, on ordinary days, was at six in summer, and a quarter-to-seven in winter. It was

a singular abbreviation, or rather evisceration, of the service. The latter was read as far as the *Venite*, and then all was omitted to the Belief. On Saints'-days there was chapel at eight, when the service was read to the end of the third collect; again at eleven, when there was Communion service, and a sermon from one of the Fellows, or a Chaplain, his deputy; and a third time at five, when the usual evening service was performed. The three College Chaplains, in my day, were three exceedingly worthy, but also very peculiar, personages. The senior of them at one time kept a school in Jewry-street, chiefly preparatory for the college. He had a singular habit, when preaching, of looking plaintively into one person's face after another, as though he were personally applying his remarks to the individual in question. "Demas hath forsaken me," he would exclaim piteously, turning a face of remonstrance on one of his neighbours, as though he expected to see him move off that minute. "Crescens hath departed into Galatia; Titus unto Dalmatia," he would continue, fixing on two others, with the same mournful emphasis. "Only Luke is with me," he would conclude, with something resembling a return to equanimity, generally singling out the Warden, as the representative of his sole adherent.

Another of them was remarkable in the school for the highly original apothegms, wherewith he was wont to intersperse, or more frequently to commence, his discourses. "There are two kinds of good—good, and good-for-nothing," was the reputed exordium of one of them. But the renown of this gentleman rested mainly on a celebrated fifth of November sermon, which descended from one generation of boys

to another, as Johnson says of Shakespeare, "receiving new honours at every transmission." "Dark was the night,"—so ran a famous passage in the sermon, according to the oral tradition of the boys,—“Dark was the night, and darker was the lantern; darkest of all was the foul conspiracy, and who should discover that, but the king himself sitting in full Council!” A theory was put forward some years ago, by an eminent Wykehamist, that the sermon in question had never really been preached; but that it consisted of a cento of passages put into the preacher’s mouth, or possibly extracted from various real discourses of his, and slowly gathered into a whole, somewhat after the same manner in which Wolf supposes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to have attained their present form. It was said that, although a great many were acquainted with various passages from the sermon in question, no one ever professed to have heard the sermon itself. I was more than half a convert to this theory myself, for some time; until I chanced to fall in with a Wykehamist of considerably older date than myself, now a Bishop of the Church, who set the matter at rest by stating that he had, when a boy at Winchester, heard the sermon from beginning to end, preached on the fifth of November by the gentleman in question.

The third of the Chaplains was by no means unworthy of his two elder brethren. He was also one of the Tutors, and the source of endless amusement, by reason of the ultra-Johnsonian phraseology he was wont to adopt on the most ordinary occasions. It is difficult to distinguish between real sayings of his, which were current in the school, and imaginary speeches made up by some school-wag, and put into his mouth. He is said, for instance, and

I believe truly, to have stopped some boy, who was construing "*arma virumque cano*" too badly, as he thought, and to have substituted for his rendering, "*cano*," I take for the subject of my epic poem, "*arma*," the weapons and implements of warfare, "*virumque*," and the hero of celebrity, &c. Also, it is beyond doubt, that he complained to a Præfect of a junior who was his pupil, in the following manner:—"I am sorry to tell you, —, that your pupil here is an incorrigible liar; in fact, that—he does *not* adhere to veracity!" But I doubt the correctness of the story which says, that in place of the ordinary schoolmaster's sentence, when a boy had made a mistake, "Let the next take his place," he was wont to exclaim, "Let the approximate assume his locality;" or that a boy ever retorted on him with, "If you please, sir, the approximate is treading on my toes, may I not assume *his* locality?"

He was, as I have said, an endless source of amusement to the boys, whose keen appreciation of his peculiarities induced them to play off all manner of pranks to draw them out. It was a favourite practice with him to pull a boy's hair sharply when he had committed any offence. One of the boys under him, who had often been subjected to this process, had an attack of fever during the holidays, in consequence of which his head was shaved, and a wig, as like his own hair as possible, substituted for it. The boy, on his return, took immediate advantage of this occurrence. He speedily got into some scrape, which induced the Master to subject him to the usual punishment; but no sooner had the former caught hold of the offender's hair, as he supposed, than the boy drew his head away, exhibiting a skull with a quarter-of-an-inch of short

hair upon it, and leaving the wig dangling between the finger and thumb of the Master, amid the inextinguishable laughter of the school. On another occasion, a well-known habit of his, of seizing any note that was being surreptitiously passed up the class, and transmitting it straight to the Hostiarius, was taken advantage of. It was the first of April, and one of the boys, imitating Mr. ——'s handwriting as nearly as he could, wrote on a slip of paper, "Dear R——, you are an April fool," and proceeded to hand it to his neighbour. The manœuvre was quickly perceived, the culprit called up, and the note sent to the Second Master. The boy delivered it with a command of countenance which would have moved the admiration of Talleyrand himself. The Hostiarius read it, and was considerably mystified. He had seen the note given to the boy, and it was apparently genuine: he judged it wisest to put the note by, and take no further notice.

But Mr. ——'s eccentricities in school were nothing compared to his eccentricities in chapel. As one of my contemporaries remarked, he was always on the *qui vive* to say or do something which no one expected. No one ever heard him lay the emphasis on any particular word of any passage in the service in the same manner twice running. If he had in the morning read, "When the *wicked* man," &c.; in the evening, he would intone it, "When the wicked *man*," &c.; and again, on the following morning, "*When* the wicked man," &c. On one occasion, after a sermon of about the usual length, he sank his voice at the end of his periods so much, that all supposed the discourse to have come to a close, and knelt down to receive the benediction. Most men, under such circumstances, would have acquiesced in the

general interpretation of his meaning, and delivered the blessing ; but not he. He commenced the next sentence in a tone which brought the whole of the congregation up from their knees in a trice, staring at one another in bewilderment ; and presently, after a few more paragraphs, really brought his sermon to a conclusion, with an emphasis on the “*Now to,*” &c., which it was extremely difficult to listen to without some breach of decorum.

The services on the Sundays were not very different from those of the Saint's-day. Morning chapel was not till eight o'clock, and all in Commoners, at all events, would lie in 'bed until the bells for chapel struck out at half-past seven, except the junior in every room, who had to “carry water,”—get a fresh supply of that article, that is ; the water supplied on the previous day having been exhausted in the Saturday-night ablutions. The service was read in the college chapel, as it was on Saints'-days, as far as the end of the third collect ; but the boys did not go again to chapel in the middle of the day, but to the cathedral, in the choir of which places had been allotted to them from a very early date. At about a quarter-past ten o'clock, Commoner-gate was opened, and the boys assembled, in their neat Sunday apparel,—it was *de rigueur* to come out smart on Sundays, whatever might have been the condition of a boy's clothes during the week. The seniors extended some way up the narrow alley, in which was the front-door of the Doctor's house, and the juniors mustered on ball-court. Presently, the College-boys were seen passing in procession up College-street, and the leading files of Commoners moved up, to follow in the rear. In this order they passed along College-street, under the King's-gate, and

through the close, until they reached the door in the southern wall of the nave, which is not far from Wykeham's chantry. Here they entered, and passing along the side-aisle, entered the choir by the door between the bishop's throne and the altar-steps. Here, the places of the boys were arranged on rows of benches in front of the Communion-rails. The end seats in each row were occupied by the Præfects; the Præfects of Hall and School being provided with two large oaken chairs,—very good seats for seeing and hearing they were, if we had chosen to make use of them. But here I can only repeat, what has been said in another place, respecting the chapel services: the irreverence and profanation of sacred things was terrible. It was not merely that the boys paid but slight attention to the sermons delivered from the pulpit: there might have been some excuse for that. For, although the sermons delivered from the cathedral pulpit in those days were certainly above the average of ordinary preaching, yet the sermons were not addressed especially to the boys, and it could hardly be expected that they could feel any very vivid interest in them. But there was not even the decency of quiet and silence.

Some boys would take books with them—story-books of one kind or another—and read them throughout the whole of the service and sermon. Others would chat together in under tones, entirely unchecked by the Præfects, who were supposed to be charged with the duty of keeping proper order. It was always a moot point with the boys, whether their conduct in this particular was matter of public notoriety or not. My own doubts on this subject were set at rest on one occasion very decisively. The late Sir John Coleridge (at that time Mr. Ser-

jeant Coleridge) used to come on the western circuit. He was a personal friend of my father, and elder brother, and used, very kindly, always to ask me to dine with him. "I was at the cathedral on Sunday," he said to us on one of these occasions, "in the same pew with one of your Masters. You fellows don't join much in the service."—We looked uncomfortably at one another, "No, sir," one of us stammered out, "we—we don't always have prayer-books."—"So I saw," he rejoined drily, "but there were fellows who had other books though, as I could see plainly enough, though your Master took no notice of it." I suppose he must have been right as regarded facts. What he could discern on one single occasion, could hardly have escaped the keen eyes of the Master, who saw the boys Sunday after Sunday, throughout the half-year. But I do not think he was right in his inference that the Master took no notice, that is, paid no heed to the matter. If he was silent, it was in despair how to remedy the mischief. Those were not days when private influences were exerted to obtain a hold over boys' hearts; and to punish such matters as mere breaches of school discipline, doubtless did more harm than good. Total neglect of religious observances is bad enough; but an outward observance, enforced by the imposition and the rod, is worse. I can remember, when an undergraduate at Oxford, a noisy supper-party being given on a Saturday, at which a large proportion of the undergraduates were present. There was more than the usual riot and licence. Most of the men had taken too much wine, and many were more or less intoxicated. The next day was Communion Sunday, and all the undergraduates were required to communicate. The greater part of those

who had been present at the party attended the service—as privates attend morning drill—simply because they were ordered to do so. Some few, and those less chargeable, if I remember right, than their companions, with the excess of the previous evening, absented themselves. No inquiry was made as to the cause of this; but the absentees, one and all, had to do a severe imposition. I cannot wonder that far-seeing men hesitated to punish irreverence and neglect of sacred duties after *this* fashion. It would simply have been making what was bad enough, still worse.

Previously to 1832, the boys attended the cathedral a second time, at half-past three in the afternoon, for a sermon only; after which there was an hour's school, at which Greek Testament or Diatesaron was construed; and then there was the evening service in the college chapel, between five and six. But when Warden Barter entered on his office, he abolished the afternoon attendance at the cathedral, and substituted for it a sermon of his own preaching in the college chapel. I shall have to speak of Warden Barter as a preacher in the next Chapter; I will therefore only observe, that this new arrangement was in reality the first beginning of the new order of things, and was made at a time when the great religious change that has come over the face of society had not, to all outward appearance, begun to work at all^c.

Besides the Saint's-day and Sunday services, there

^c Dr. Arnold took the Chaplaincy at Rugby in the autumn of 1831, about a twelvemonth before Warden Barter's institution of the chapel sermon. But the latter certainly did not derive the idea from Dr. Arnold. Though old school-fellows, there was no correspondence—scarcely I believe, any acquaintance—between the two men.

were those of the Founder's commemorations, three times in every year, and that also of his "obit," or death. On these occasions, there are proper Psalms, a proper lesson, and certain versicles and prayers interpolated immediately before the anthem. The Psalms are the 144th, the 145th, and the 146th; the first lesson is that noble chapter, Ecclesiasticus 44, which was read on these occasions by the senior Founder. The Priest's part in the special prayers and responses was taken by the senior Fellow present. They run as follows:—

"Priest. The just shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

"Answer. And they shall fear no evil report.

"Priest. The souls of the just are in the hands of God.

"Answer. And no torment shall touch them.

"Priest. O Eternal God, the Resurrection and the Life of all that believe in Thee, always to be praised, as well for the dead as those that be alive, we give Thee most hearty thanks for our Founder, William of Wykeham, and all other our benefactors, by whose benefits we are here brought up to godliness and the studies of good learning; beseeching Thee, that we, well using all these Thy blessings to the praise and honour of Thy holy Name, may at length be brought to the immortal glory of the Resurrection, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

One more ceremony connected with the chapel requires to be mentioned—a most remarkable relic of the past, which, it is surprising to think, survived almost to the present generation. It was, until recently, the practice on one day of the year, to muster all the College-boys who had passed their fifteenth year, and had not previously gone through

the ceremony, in the chapel, and require them to take an oath that they would never divulge anything that had passed within the college walls, and would further uphold and defend the college, should it ever require their help, to the best of their ability. The oath was read out in Latin by the college Steward, and then the boys expressed their assent. This oath is one of the things which the Wykehamical body ought to have abolished long ago; the retention of which has done injury to the advocacy of those, who would fain have seen abuses rectified, but have retained everything that was still sound and good. When the oath was first instituted, no doubt it had a very real and practical meaning. Religious foundations were in continual danger of modifications, confiscations, or total suppressions, by reason of the jealousies or enmities of rival establishments. No doubt there were occasions, in the early history of the college, when the conscientious obligation under which all the members lay, to conceal any scandal that might be used prejudicially to the college, was of the greatest service to them. One would be curious to know in what manner it affected their interests, at that particularly critical time in their history, when Henry VIII. was promulgating his edicts against all religious houses. But for two hundred years the ceremony had been totally unmeaning. Everybody who chose it, might know, and as a matter of fact *did* know, what went on in the college; and to make boys swear to conceal it, was as absurd as it was irreverent. I know it has been urged, that it was the memory of this oath which induced the Puritan Fiennes or Love (whichever of them it was), to stand up resolutely and successfully for the preservation of the college, at

the time of its utmost need. But who can believe that it *was* simply the recollection of the oath, regarded as a religious obligation, which induced him so to act? A man who had cast aside the most solemn engagements of loyalty to his church and his king—is it likely that he would have held in such respect the “Amen” he had uttered in response to a Latin document, which probably, like his school-fellows, he hardly heeded, when he uttered it? No, be sure, it was something far deeper than this—the memory of his boyish sports on that fresh green turf, of his boyish lessons learned within those venerable walls, of his boyish prayers offered at that well-remembered shrine, that rose up before him at that trying hour. Prelatists, Formalists, Malignants, all within the college walls might be—still, he would not have the beloved haunts of his boyhood desecrated and laid waste^d!

^d The occurrences of the rebellion of 1793 may be cited in support of these remarks. The Warden on that occasion, in the address which he delivered to the boys in the ante-chapel, dwelt much on their breach of the oath which they had taken to observe the Statutes. These forbade any “*conjuratio*” to the detriment of the college; and he contended that they had made such a “*conjuratio*.” The boys answered that they had never seen the Statutes, and did not know they had sworn to anything of the kind. Most College-boys in each generation would probably have said the same, if charged with the breach of the oath in question.

CHAPTER XVIII.

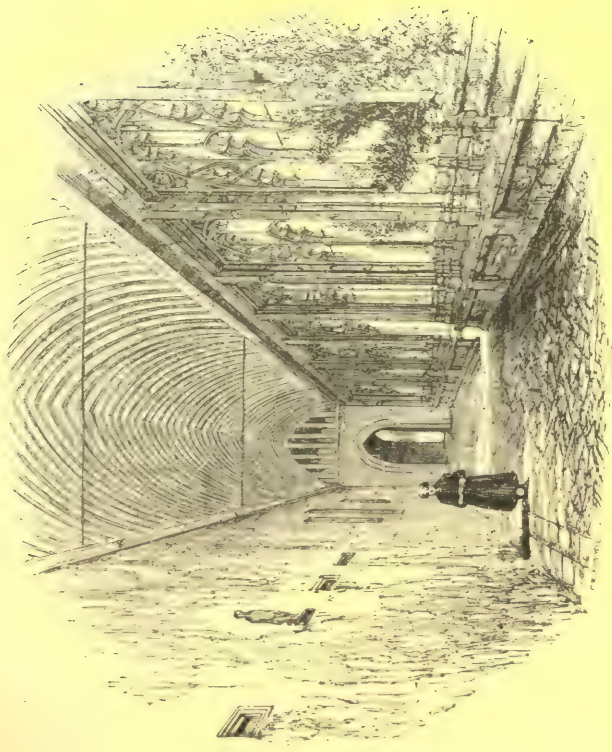
WARDEN BARTER.

IT would be impossible to write a history of Winchester College, for the especial perusal of Wykehamists, and omit Warden Barter from it. For thirty years he was, so to speak, the central figure of the Wykehamical tableau. Among the recollections of their schoolboy-days, which the various generations of boys during that period carried away with them, those of his stalwart stature and noble face were ever the most prominent. Wherever old Winchester men met together, if Warden Barter was present, he became at once the point of interest and attraction ; if he was not present, the mention of his name never failed to call forth an outburst of affection and respect. The history of the college throughout this work has followed the line, not of the Wardens, but of the Head-masters ; and there is therefore no place in it which belongs more especially to him. A place, then, must be made for him ; and none could be more suitable than the chapter which follows immediately after the mention of the chapel ; with which particular feature of the college his memory is most closely associated.

Robert Speckott Barter was born July 3, 1790, at Cornworthy, a picturesque Devonshire village^a on the banks of the Dart, a few miles distant from

^a The Warden always retained the greatest affection for his native county, and all connected with it. "Good, excellent man," he would say of some compatriot, "Devonshire man—knew his father !—no better man anywhere !"

The College Cloisters.



Totnes. His father, the Rev. Charles Barter, was presented to the living shortly after his admission to priest's orders, and held it for the extraordinary period of seventy-one years, dying at the age of ninety-six; to which great age his widow, who survived him several years, also attained. Robert was the youngest of three sons^b, all fine-looking, powerful young men, between whom in after-life there subsisted a strong bond of brotherly affection: but he was the finest-looking of the three, with a stature and bodily frame which might have belonged to old Warwick the King-maker, and a face in which the manly and commanding features wore an expression of honesty and kindliness which went straight to people's hearts^c. The village was secluded and

^b The eldest of these, the Rev. Charles Barter, was born A.D. 1786. He was educated at Tiverton School, and Balliol College, Oxford, of which he was Fellow for eleven years. He married, in 1817, Miss Langston, sister of the well-known member for Oxford. By her he had a family of four sons and six daughters, all but two of whom survived him. He became Incumbent of Sarsden in 1817, and of Churchill soon afterwards. He died in 1866.

The second, William Brudenell, was born January, A.D. 1788. He also was sent to Tiverton School, and afterwards to Westminster, whence he went as a student to Christ Church in 1806. He took a Double Second-class in 1809, and was elected to an open Fellowship at Oriel in 1811. Subsequently he became tutor in the family of Lord Carnarvon, by whom he was presented to the livings of Highclere and Burghclere, in the county of Hants. He married, A.D. 1825, Miss Escott, of Hartrow, who died A.D. 1837, leaving two sons and several daughters, one of whom married the present Bishop of St. Andrew's. Mr. William Barter was a stout Churchman and an able controversialist. He put forward from time to time many letters and pamphlets on the topics of the day. He married a second wife, Miss Broadwood, in 1852, and died in November, 1858.

^c A remarkable proof of this is found in a story told of him, while he was still comparatively a young man. He was on his way to Salisbury, to attend a meeting at Archdeacon Clarke's house, whither he had chosen, as usual, to proceed on foot. As the afternoon advanced, he found himself in the wild neighbourhood of Parnell wood, and it became more evident, every hour

difficult of access : when guests were expected, a man had to be sent out on horseback to help the tired cattle in dragging the carriages up "Corkscrew Hill," as a tremendous ascent on the Totnes road was called ; and the guests were usually billeted in the neighbouring farm-houses, the parsonage being too small to contain them all. It is probable that this isolation had much to do with the special kindness towards the lower classes which ever characterised the Warden, and made him as much beloved by them as by his equals^d.

more plainly, that he could not reach his destination in time. Presently a farmer, mounted on a fine horse, rode up : the Warden stopped him, told him his story, and asked him to lend him his horse ! It was a startling request from a total stranger ; but the farmer took one look of the applicant's face, and then dismounted. "You look an honest man, my friend," he said, "and you are welcome to him !" The next day the horse was returned, with a letter of thanks and a new bridle.

There was also a natural dignity about the Warden, which came out strikingly under circumstances which test what is in a man. I was present when he received the Prince Consort in 1849. His simple dignity of manner on the occasion, profoundly loyal and respectful, but perfectly free and collected, was the very *beau ideal* of what a Warden of Winchester should be when receiving a royal guest, and forcibly reminded me of Araunah's reception of King David,—"*All these things did Araunah as a king give unto the king.*" (2 Sam. xxiv. 23.)

^d "If ever there was a man," writes one who knew him well, Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrew's, "in whom there was not a grain of selfishness, it was Robert Speckott Barter ; and to this perfect absence of all consideration of self was added, in equal perfection, the finest, nicest discernment and regard for the feelings and circumstances of others ; so that the difficult Christian precept to 'honour all men,' from the beggar to the prince, seemed to come to him as part of his natural disposition." It is related of him, that on one occasion a woman in the village was taken dangerously ill, and there was no doctor nearer than Totnes, fully seven miles distant. The tidings were brought to the parsonage, when Robert straightway set off for Totnes, and returned with the medical man, not having discovered for some considerable part of his journey, that he had gone off, after the fashion of College-boys at Winchester, without his hat ! His memory was long cherished at Cornworthy with the utmost affection ; he was, in truth, so beloved of

The period of his childhood and early boyhood—the last ten years, that is to say, of the eighteenth century—are among the gloomiest of our Church history. According to general and undisputed testimony, society was then largely leavened by infidelity and Unitarianism: the clergy, as a body, were careless, ignorant, and worldly; the people had deserted the churches, and all but renounced the ordinances of religion. Yet there were parishes, nevertheless, which offered a pleasant contrast to this melancholy picture—veritable Goshens in the midst of Egyptian darkness—and amongst these Cornworthy must be reckoned. Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than what we are told of that sequestered hamlet, where the simple rule of the Church was the law of life—that peaceful home, where the round of quiet duty went on, unvaried from month to month and from year to year, while the pastor and his wife grew insensibly from youth to middle life, and from that to extreme old age. We are told, that in the days when she first came as a bride to Cornworthy, Mrs. Barter planted a young lime in the parsonage-garden, which grew before her death to a tall and vigorous tree, under which she would sit with her sons when they visited her—men far advanced in middle life, and high in honour. It was in such a home as this that we might expect a character like that of Warden Barter to be reared.

He was sent, in the first instance, like his brothers, to Tiverton Grammar-school, and his father having obtained a nomination for him at Winchester, he was despatched thither in the autumn of the year

all classes, that Mr. Keble was wont to say, “he was sure if ours was an elective monarchy, Warden Barter would be chosen king!”

1803. He was placed in one of the lower parts of the school, under the tuition of Mr. Gabell, who at that time, and until 1810, was the Hostiarius. The letters which the latter wrote periodically at the end of every half-year, of which some specimens are subjoined, speak for themselves as to the character, as well as the progress, of the lad.

After a year's pupilage, Mr. Gabell writes :—

“DEAR SIR,—Your son continues to deserve unqualified praise for the regularity, goodness, and propriety of his whole behaviour. Accept my congratulations.

“Your obedient, humble servant,

“H. D. GABELL.

“August 13, 1804.”

After the interval of another year :—

“DEAR SIR,—I have to acquaint you that your excellent boy continues to conduct himself entirely to my satisfaction.

“Your obedient, humble servant,

“H. D. GABELL.”

And again, on the next occasion :—

“DEAR SIR,—If there should be a great want of variety in the reports I am able to make to you from time to time as to the conduct of your son at Winchester, you will do me the justice to lay the blame on him, as he does not allow me to diversify my letters by any deviations on his part from the rule of duty.

“Your obliged, obedient servant,

“H. D. GABELL.”

In the summer of the ensuing year^e, when he was

^e To this period of his boyhood must be referred the remarkable incident which, but for its being well authenticated, one would hesitate to credit, and which may match with the similar stories told of Pindar and Plato. He was standing one day near Sick-house-gate, when a swarm of bees from the matron's garden alighted on his head, completely covering his face, neck, and shoulders. He had the nerve to stand perfectly quiet ; and the matron, seeing what had happened, ran out. “Stand still, Mr. Barter,” she cried, “you are quite safe, for I know you

not yet sixteen, he obtained the gold medal for the Latin Verse, the subject being "*Mahumedæ Sepulcrum.*" The poem was considered so good, as not only to win the medal, but find a place in the volumes entitled "*Carmina Wiccamica,*" in which some twenty compositions, the best productions from the time of Dr. Burton to that of Dr. Williams, have been preserved. Dr. Gabell again writes in the most cordial terms of this success, and Dr. Goddard adds :—

"I say nothing of your son. He bears in his hand what will speak for itself as to talent; and as to behaviour, he has no superior."

At the election in the following year he stood high enough on the roll to obtain a vacancy at New College, though then only just entering his seventeenth year. Dr. Goddard again writes :—

"His talents and diligence have procured for him that situation, which no interest, I hope, will ever be able to procure in this college. It is the more creditable to himself, and the more gratifying to his friends, as it has brought him forward two years before the regular period when young men usually look towards New College. But he is so steady, that I am confident he will run no risk in becoming a member of the University so early. I cannot but regret that I shall lose his example in the school."

It was not with the Masters only that Robert Barter was a favourite; he was the most popular boy of his day with his school-fellows. Wonderful things are told of his scores at cricket, at which he is said to have been the hardest hitter of his own

will be Warden some day." She brought out some boughs dipped in honey, to which the bees transferred themselves, leaving him wholly unhurt! Old friends of the Warden certify that they heard this prophecy referred to frequently, both previously and subsequently to his election as Warden.

times, or of any near him; stories which—reduced in his narrative within the bounds of reasonable belief—he would sometimes in his old age relate with a zest which, for the moment, seemed to bring back the expression of his bright and happy boyhood to his face^f. He was so renowned for the tremendous force with which he was wont to swipe the ball, commonly known to cricketers as a “half-volley,” that it actually changed its name in the Wykehamical vocabulary, and for fully half-a-century afterwards—and, for all I know, to the present day—bore the name of a “Barter.” He was long before the days of the public school matches, or, in all likelihood, he would have achieved a score on the London ground which would have been remembered to this day.

At Oxford he rejoined his brother William, who, though nearly two years older, had come into residence not very long before him^g. William Barter was as tall and powerful as his brother, and was not unlike him in the face, though the expression was not so winning. The feats of strength which these two “good-natured giants” performed together; the ease with which they would load the great wains in the harvest-fields at Cornworthy; the fabulous distances they would walk without weariness; the

^f One of these stories was well known to his friends: “Ah, yes, I did; I put five balls in succession over the wall, and was run out running the sixth run of the last ball of the over.”

^g A characteristic anecdote of them is still remembered there. The two brothers were going out to follow the hounds, William riding, and Robert on foot. The former, who was in advance of his brother, came upon a boy who was trying in vain to replace a heavy load which had fallen off a horse which he was leading. “I can’t stop, my lad,” said William; “but my man, Bob, is only just behind, he’ll help you.” Presently Robert Barter appeared. “Bob,” said the boy, “yewre master says as how yew’s to help me up with this sack.” Greatly amused, Robert complied, gave the boy a shilling, and then trudged on to the meet.

adventures they encountered, through which their stalwart frames and bold spirits carried them unhurt, would fill a volume^h. William Barter had his way in the world to make, and had set his mind on obtaining a First Class. It is by no means impossible that the exploits above referred to may have somewhat interfered with his reading, and caused his name to appear in the Second Class. But he set himself thereupon to obtain, what was then regarded as the Undergraduate's blue ribbon,—a Fellowship at Oriel. He worked resolutely, day and night, and succeeded in winning it. His satisfaction must have been great at having thus regained the position he had lost; but his delight was hardly as great as that of his brother Robert. The latter, who had followed the examination from day to day with the greatest anxiety, was on the watch from the early morning on the day when the announcement of the election was to be made. After a long vigil he saw the Provost's servant come out, and proceed to Whately's lodgings, who, he knew, was the favourite candidate. He hurried up to the man, and obtained from him the joyful news that Mr. Barter also had been elected; and then rushing upstairs to the room where his brother was sitting in trembling suspense, burst in with the joyous shout,—“William, you've got it!”

It was unfortunate for Robert Barter that he, too, had not a Fellowship at Oriel to strive for. He could

^h The Warden was renowned for his skill at most athletic exercises, but pre-eminently as a tennis-player. During his later Oxford days he had the reputation of being one of the best gentleman players in England. This led to an acquaintance with Mr. Wordsworth, then an Undergraduate at Christ Church, also a celebrated player, and eventuated in the election of the latter as Hostiarius at Winchester.

hardly have been a better or happier, but he might have been a more distinguished, manⁱ. Things were made too smooth for him; his Fellowship at New College was secured when he was only seventeen, his examination for his degree was little better than a farce, and the Honour Schools were not open to New College men. New College was, in truth, in his day the very *sans souci* of Oxford, itself by no means remarkable for severity of work; but it did not spoil Robert Barter. He had no sooner taken his B.C.L., than he applied to his old Hostiarius, Dr. Gabell, who had now been promoted to the Head-mastership, for a Commoner Tutorship, though he knew well that work under Gabell was no sine-cure. The Doctor received his application with cordial kindness; and not long afterwards he received his appointment, which he held till the end of 1814.

In that year (1814) the allied sovereigns came to England, and were present at the Encænïa in the Theatre at Oxford on the 14th of June. Mr. Barter was eager to see them, but he could not be spared from his duties: he had his regular work to do until late on the 13th, and on the morning of the 15th he had to be in school. During the 14th he might be absent; but the only conveyance to Oxford was the coach, and that occupied nearly the whole day in the journey between the two towns. He was resolved,

ⁱ "Intellectually," writes the Bishop of St. Andrew's, "he never did himself justice. He lacked the ambition to excel others, which so often gives the spur necessary to overcome constitutional indolence: and while he had no inclination for display, the natural talents which he possessed enabled him to meet the calls made for the exercise of his literary powers, either in the pulpit or elsewhere, with only too great facility. In short, it may be said with truth, that he had within him all the materials for making—not only one of the best, for that he was—but also one of the most distinguished men of the times in which he lived."

however, not to be baffled : he would walk. The distance, to be sure, was somewhere about sixty miles ; but what was a walk of sixty miles to him ? He resolved to set out late on the 13th, as soon as his day's work was done. The evening was dark and close, and there was every appearance of a storm ; but he cared no more for the weather than he did for the distance. He set out, and before he had got half-way the storm burst out. The night was so dark that it would have been impossible to distinguish the road, but for the frequent flashes of lightning. The rain came down in torrents, but he would not take shelter ; he strode on through the war of the elements, and reached Oxford in the grey of the morning, drenched to the skin. He proceeded to New College, changed his clothes, was present in the Theatre during the grand spectacle he had desired to witness, and then walked back again on the following night, appearing at his place in school on the morning of the 15th !

He resigned his Tutorship at Winchester in Dec., 1814, and went to reside at Oxford, where shortly afterwards he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Legge. In 1815 he was appointed Tutor of New College. At this period he was in the constant habit of going over for the Sunday to Sarsden or Burghclere, where his two brothers were now established. The delight with which "Uncle Robert's" visits were welcomed may readily be imagined ; in truth, his nephews and nieces always felt his house at Winchester to be their second home ; and no father ever welcomed his children more gladly than he did them. On the occasions of his visits to his brothers he almost always walked. There is a story of his having once refused a lift in the

Bishop of Oxford's carriage, on the ground that "he was in a hurry!" But sometimes he would proceed to Burghclere by the coach which crosses the Ilsley downs; and it was on one of these occasions that the incident occurred, which all Wykehamists know in connection with him, but which has often been mistold.

He was sitting on the box, his favourite place, when he was annoyed by the outrageous ribaldry and blasphemy of a passenger on the seat behind. Having patiently endured it for some time, he at last turned round, and requested the man to desist. He was met by the angry question, "Who the —— are you?" "I'll soon shew you," said Mr. Barter, and clutching the man by the collar, he dragged him from his seat, and held him at arm's length over the wheel; "If you swear any more, I'll let you drop on the road," he added. The man was terrified out of his wits, and straightway vowed, not only to blaspheme no more during that journey, but never again all his life, if the gentleman would only forgive him; whereupon Mr. Barter restored him to his place.

It was at this time of his life also (in the year 1817) that he held the Bursarship at New College; but finance was not his forte. At the end of the year, it is said that he found himself indebted to the college in no less a sum than one thousand pounds; which, however, he forthwith paid without a murmur out of his own private means^k, though

^k I think this story is, in all likelihood, true. When I was Treasurer of the Winchester Diocesan Board of Education, he asked me one day—it was the fifth year of my treasurership—"whether he had paid his subscription for that year?" I replied, that "I did not know he was a subscriber at all. Certainly he had never paid any subscription to me." Inquiry was made,

he did not again essay the Bursarship. He was Poser in 1817, and Sub-warden in 1820.

After some years of residence, he took his father's curacy at Cornworthy¹, but still retained the Tutorship at New College, travelling frequently to and fro by the coaches between Oxford and Devonshire. Under ordinary circumstances, he could not have held these two offices simultaneously. But his practice as regarded the Tutorship, was a remarkable one; he used to give each Undergraduate a lecture separately, and having thus ascertained the young man's special requirements, would give him a certain amount of work to prepare before the next lecture, when he would examine him in the progress he had made in the interim. I imagine this would hardly have sufficed in any other college at that time; but it appears to have been accounted sufficient. He resigned the Tutorship in 1830, after holding it for fifteen years.

But a change was now to come in his life. The vacancy in the Wardenship of Winchester College, long anticipated in consequence of Warden Huntingford's great age, fell in the year 1832, and Mr. Barter was chosen for the office. He was opposed by other candidates, and among them by Dr. Williams, then Head-master of Winchester; and probably no other man but Robert Barter could have carried the day

and it was found that he had paid nothing for *seven* years, his subscription being £10 a-year. "I thought I had paid it regularly every year," was his remark; but he straightway paid up the £70.

¹ It is recorded as a curious sign of the times, that William and Robert Barter were wont to take their academic preaching-gowns to Cornworthy, and wear them in the pulpit. They were regarded as novelties there, if not as innovations; the parishioners, from time immemorial, having been wont to see their pastor mount the pulpit in his surplice.

against him. On his entrance into office many improvements were effected^m. The old dinner-hour, six o'clock, which had been a continual scene of disorder and discomfort, was changed within a few years of his accession to the Wardenship; the College Præfects were allowed an hour's leave out—a preliminary step to the relaxation of the strict rule of confinement to the college; the study of mathematics was introduced; a school was set up for the instruction of the choristers. But the most important change was, the substitution of the sermon at Sunday evening chapel for the afternoon attendance at the cathedral.

The reader has heard in the previous chapter some description of the scene at the morning and evening service at the cathedral. It is not a pleasant topic to dwell on; but it ought, in justice to that generation of Wykehamists, to be borne in mind, that the sermons delivered from the cathedral pulpit, however excellent they may have been in themselves, were wholly unsuited to the boys. They did not touch upon their special needs and temptations. If they had done so, and had been delivered by eloquent and earnest men, I think the boys would have listened. Whence Warden Barter derived his inspiration on this subject I cannot say. It was, as I have already pointed out, long before the days when Dr. Arnold's views had gained any influence

^m It was with reference to these changes that Bishop Wordsworth's distich was made, which might otherwise seem somewhat hard on Warden Barter's predecessor:—

“Aurea qui ferreis mutasti sæcula nobis,
Tu certe haud falso nomine *Barter* eras.”

“Every proposal,” says the Bishop (whose testimony here is especially valuable), “to improve the spiritual, intellectual, or physical condition of the boys in college, was sure to receive from him the most ready and gracious consideration.”

with the public. I suppose it was out of the "honest and good heart" which beat in Warden Barter's bosom, if it ever did in any man's. But one of the first steps he took on his instalment in office, was to abolish the attendance at cathedral in the afternoon, and introduce in its place, before the five o'clock service in the college chapel, a sermon; which he undertook either to preach himself, or provide a substitute for.

The effect which his first sermon produced, will be best described by the words of one who was a College Præfect at the time, and well remembers it. "Of the first effect of the change," he writes, "I have the keenest recollection. We found ourselves face to face with an evidently sincere and earnest preacher, and there was no escape. The text was in accordance, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock!' He spoke in manly and most kindly utterance of love, and home, and such-like tender things. All the home side of the complex schoolboy character was drawn upon; and the weakest of us College-boys was glad of the sheltering sleeve of a surplice to weep unobserved."

A year or two afterwards, the first signs of the great theological movement of the age made their appearance. The "Tracts for the Times" began in 1833. Two years afterwards Mr. Keble settled at Hursley, and Dr. Moberly and Mr. Wordsworth came to Winchester. A warm and close friendship sprang up between the Warden and these men, which was never interrupted or weakened. There are those who think that his views were greatly influenced by these new associations; I should, myself, be inclined to doubt it. The Warden was a man of firm, clear, and strong convictions, which it would be extremely

difficult to modify, next to impossible to change. If the views of his new friends had not in the main coincided with these, their society—let their power or amiability have been ever so great—would have had little attraction for him. No doubt, like every healthy nature, he was capable of assimilating the good that he found in other men's minds, so long as it consisted with the principles to which he clung firmly throughout his life; but I do not believe the man lived, who could have induced him to qualify, much less surrender them.

From the time of his election as Warden, he took so active a part in the affairs of Winchester, that nothing of importance appeared to go on without him. If a public meeting had to be called for any local or national purpose, the Warden was either asked to take the chair, or to propose the principal resolution; if any benevolent or useful object had to be advocated, the Warden was the first whose support was canvassed; if a sermon had to be preached in behalf of some religious or philanthropical society, it was felt that no preacher was so likely to advance its claims successfully as the Warden. The clergy, even those who differed most widely from himⁿ, ever treated him with respect, and even affection. He was one of the most effective speakers at a

ⁿ I was present at the the meeting of the clergy of the Archdeaconry of Winchester, held at the "George" Inn in 1850, on the subject of the Papal Aggression, when he was one of the speakers. Men's minds were inflamed at that time to an extraordinary extent, and the Archdeaconry contained a number of men steeped to the lips with the bitterness of party. The acrimony and violence with which every speaker who was supposed to belong to the High Church party was assailed, are things to be remembered with wonder and shame; but Warden Barter was an exception. Even on that occasion of unexampled excitement, his remarks, though evidently unpalatable, provoked no angry comments.

public meeting that ever addressed an audience, carrying them along with him by force of his simple honesty of purpose, where far abler orators might have exerted their eloquence in vain. "I should like to go into battle under that man," said one of my friends, who had been listening to one of his speeches on the occasion of the Gorham Judgment: and it struck me that his remark went far to explain the extraordinary influence which the Warden's speeches were wont to exercise. It was the sense of his thorough belief in the truth of what he said, and his resolute determination to uphold it, which won men to his side. He was a man who would never waver or turn back, but whatever might come of it, would fight resolutely to the last.

His kindness of heart, and ready sympathy with the wants of others in their private affairs, exceeded that of any man I ever knew. People would come to him for help in all kinds of trouble, and he never had the heart to say "no" to any one. Clergymen who were ill, clergymen who were over-worked, or clergymen who wanted a holiday—if they had the slightest acquaintance with him, and often if they had none at all—would entreat him to take their duty for them; and he could refuse no one who could make out anything resembling a plausible case. He generally forgot to take down any note of the engagements he thus made, and sometimes, on a Saturday, would find he had promised to serve two churches twenty miles distant from one another, and had to go about to ask help out of his difficulty from friends; who, though they would have rejected without hesitation the petitions of the original applicants, could not refuse him. He would hurry into college, after taking afternoon service for some

incumbent, who lived perhaps five miles off, reach his study just as the college bells were stopping, and taking up the first sermon out of his collection, hurry in to preach it. Sometimes he would light upon a sermon which, though excellent in itself (as every sermon he wrote invariably was), did not suit very well with the congregation he was addressing; and sometimes the same sermon would reappear at very short intervals, for he never made any note as to the date at which he had last preached it. On one occasion I have been informed (though I will not vouch for the fact), that having in this manner taken up an old Cornworthy sermon, which he had not had time to read through, he suddenly found himself exhorting the boys "to be careful not to omit bringing their wives to be churched after their confinements;" and on another occasion, having several times, at very brief intervals, preached a sermon on the words in St. Luke xvi. 25, "Son, remember," he was drily advised by one of his friends to alter the text to "Son, forget." But an old sermon of his, or even one not directly adapted to his congregation, was nevertheless worth hearing. The sight of his grand figure, and face glowing with earnestness and love, and the tones of his voice, which corresponded well with the expression of the features, were a sermon in themselves more effective than many other men's eloquence or learning.

The poor and the distressed, whatever might be their trouble, would come to him, having no other claim on him but their poverty and distress, and never failed to secure his sympathy and help. On one occasion, having become acquainted, through a friend, with a lady in very reduced circumstances,

and with several children, who was dying of a painful disorder, he had the children in his own house for several weeks, in order that their presence might not increase their mother's trouble. At the hospital, of the Committee of which he was Chairman, he was so constant a visitor at the bedsides of the sick and dying, that he might as well have been the chaplain himself. At his death, the resolution passed by the Committee declared that "all classes within the walls of the hospital—officers, servants, and patients—felt his loss as that of a personal friend." There was no limit to his kindliness of heart. His hospitality was so unbounded, that his house went by the name of "the Wykeham Arms." If any one, however remotely connected with him, was in sickness or want, and you went to visit them, you found that your visit had been forestalled by the Warden. If bereavement or sorrow had fallen on any household, and you called to inquire, the Warden had been there before you. If you met any pitiable object coming away from the Warden's house—however he might occasionally declaim against indiscriminate almsgiving—you might be certain the Warden had relieved him. If the amount of money he bestowed in private charity could have been reckoned up, I am persuaded the sum total would have startled even him °.

° Sometimes persons would apply to him, who certainly would not have ventured to prefer their petitions to any one else. He was one day—he told the story himself to some friends—accosted by a man, who begged of him. "I—I don't know you my friend, do I?" inquired the Warden; "somehow your face seems familiar to me." "Oh, yes, you knows me, Sir. *I was transported for seven years, for stealing your pigs*, and I hope you'll do something for me now!" The Warden *did* know him, having supported his wife and children out of his own pocket, during the whole of the man's term of transportation. He was

So years went on. When he was past sixty, the Warden, who had long been, more or less, a sufferer from gout, began to have periodically more severe attacks. He would frequently be laid up for a week together, during which he was always glad to receive visits from friends, who would keep him *au courant* with the news of the day. On these occasions, when asked how his gout was, he invariably assured his visitor that it was better, generally adding that "it was the best thing in the world for him that he had had the present attack, as he would certainly be greatly the better for it afterwards;" insomuch that the visitor after a while began to doubt whether he ought not rather to congratulate, than condole with, the invalid under his attack." "How is the Warden to-day?" I once asked his medical man, as I met him leaving the house. "Sir," was the answer, "the Warden is the most extraordinary patient any doctor ever had. He has a very severe fit of the gout, but he seems to enjoy it!"

Towards the close of 1858 his brother William died. It was a sore distress to him. His own health was fast failing, and he was never the same man after the blow. It is said that he shortened his days by paying a visit to comfort an old friend who had suffered a heavy bereavement, when he ought to have been nursing himself at home. He was taken ill with an attack of his old malady early in 1861, which turned to typhoid fever; and presently it became evident that he could not rally. He lay for some time between life and death, his

pressed to say how he had met this highly original application; but he would not tell, further than by owning to having given the man half-a-crown.

mind sometimes wandering towards the last. He fancied himself to be addressing the boys in chapel, in the earnest and affectionate language so familiar to them, and one of the last things he was heard to mutter to himself was the *Nunc Dimittis*.

During the last week or so of his life, College-street presented an appearance, which might have induced people to believe that it was the time of the college election, notwithstanding the season of the year. It was completely thronged throughout the day, with people calling to inquire how the Warden was^p; and when, on the eighth of February, it was announced that he was gone, it caused a general burst of sorrow through the town.

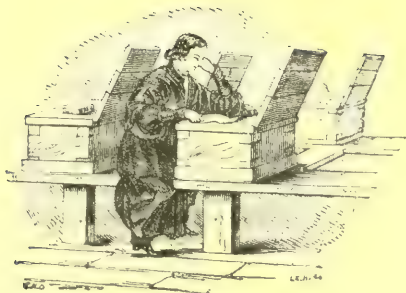
He was buried on the fifteenth of the same month; and the scene at his funeral was one, which no one who witnessed it will ever forget. The College-boys were all drawn up in rows on the altar-steps, and the Commoners were admitted to the ante-chapel only, so as to leave the whole chapel free for the friends who had come to attend the funeral. But large as this space was, it was wholly insufficient for the numbers which pressed in. They filled every seat, and stood in clusters near the door, numbers being unable to obtain admission. The well-known passage in Macbeth, which speaks of "troops of friends" as being the fitting accompaniment of old age, surely never had so complete a realisation as in his instance.

He lies in the cloisters, by the side of his mother. Great and irreparable as was his loss, his friends

^p Among others, the Dean of Winchester, then past his eightieth year, came down to inquire in person regularly at ten o'clock every night, notwithstanding the extreme severity of the weather. He could not, he said, trust to any other person's report.

could not have wished him to live longer. He did not love innovations, especially in things relating to the college; and the sweeping reforms which have been effected (however wise or necessary they may have been) would have broken his heart. He died when the hand of change had been laid, by comparison, but lightly on the institutions he loved and cherished; and his grand figure fitly closes the long procession of Wykeham's Wardens. May the new succession be worthy of the old^a!

^a The picture of the Warden, painted by Grant in 1848, and presented to him by the subscriptions of Wykehamists, is in the Warden's gallery at Winchester. It has been well engraved, and adorns the walls of large numbers of his friends. The reader will find, in Chapter ii., an account of the memorial raised to him and Warden Williams, after their deaths. A memorial chapel in the new County Hospital, was also built by the subscriptions of Warden Barter's friends.



Boy at his "Scob."

CHAPTER XIX.

STUDIES, EXERCISES, PRIZES, &c.

THE several classes into which the school is divided, the various authors studied, and exercises performed in each, have been more than once incidentally mentioned in the previous Chapters. It is intended now to give a more detailed account of them.

Originally, it would appear, there were six classes, called "libri," that is, "lists" or "registers" of boys' names,—a not uncommon use of the word "liber," as similarly of $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Greek. But the three junior of these six disappeared very early in the history of the school^a. When Christopher Johnson wrote (that is, as the reader has before been told, either in the reign of Edward VI. or possibly, of Mary) no trace of them remained. He tells us,—

"In classes pueros secuit veneranda vetustas,
Sexta locum primum, sed classis Quinta Secundum

^a We must suppose that there *were* six: it is inconceivable that a school should have been divided into *three* classes only, and those three called, the "Sixth," "Fifth," and "Fourth" classes. Moreover, at Eton, in which the Winchester arrangements were exactly copied, there were certainly six classes, which have survived to the present day. The same also at Westminster: in my time there, at all events, the First and Second classes did exist, though there were only a few boys in them.

Occupat, et Quartæ concessa est tertia sedes^b.
 Ultima quæ sequitur vocitata est Quarta Secunda^c."

A possible explanation of this disappearance of the lower half of the school, is to be found in the fact, laid before the reader in Chapter vi., that the Founder during his lifetime "supported many boys at his own cost, who were to be taught, with his alumni, in the college." It is not unlikely that these boys were not, like the seventy Scholars, intended to enter orders, but merely received the most rudimentary elements of learning only,—reading, summing, and writing. It may be that these boys comprised the whole of the three lower classes: and when their numbers diminished, and perhaps from time to time were reduced to a very few, these classes ceased to exist, and were never re-established.

If the above theory be correct, it would account for the subdivisions of the three upper "Books." Three classes would not suffice for seventy boys, even excluding any "commensales," who were to receive the same education as the "Scholares." Such division does not, indeed, seem to have been made in Johnson's time. He nowhere makes mention of any "Senior," "Media" or "Junior" "Pars," "Quintæ," or "Quartæ classis." On the contrary, he speaks of the whole of the "Sexta et Quinta classis," on some occasions doing their lessons together^d. But this could not have lasted very long. As proficiency in scholarship advanced,—particularly as attention

^b That is, I apprehend, the third row of benches in the schoolroom.

^c The "Quarta secunda classis" was that of the choristers. In the yearly rolls they are still arranged under "secunda classis."

^d Traces of this remained in "Pulpiteers," which consisted of Sixth Book and Senior Part Fifth combined.

came to be paid to the philology of the Greek language,—it would be impossible to keep boys, whose ages ranged from ten to eighteen, in only three classes. We may reasonably conclude, that in the seventeenth century, at all events, the distinction of Senior and Junior Part of the Fifth, Senior and Junior Part of the Fourth were introduced, and subsequently, a third class called Middle Part interpolated in each book, between the Senior and Junior Parts. At the beginning of the present century, the forms were arranged thus: I. Sixth Book; II. Senior Part of the Fifth; III. Middle Part of the Fifth; IV. Junior Part of the Fifth; V. Senior Part of the Fourth; VI. Middle Part of the Fourth; VII. Junior Part of the Fourth. But the number of boys in these lower forms became continually smaller and smaller. The system of fagging pursued in Commoners, which made no allowance for the length of a boy's stay in the school, but required him to continue to fag until he reached Senior Part of the Fifth, acted naturally as a discouragement to parents to send their boys there at an early age. The favourite practice became, to educate them at preparatory schools, until they were sufficiently advanced to be placed at once in Junior—if possible in Middle—Part of the Fifth, and so almost entirely escape fagging, even in their first half-year. The necessary consequence of this policy was to starve, as it were, the lower forms in the school. In the year 1829 there was a serious disturbance in Commoners (which the reader will find duly chronicled in Dr. Williams's life), in consequence of the diminution of the numbers of "Fourth Book."

Formerly, a boy placed in Junior Part of the Fifth, had been half-way up the school, and found himself

with so many juniors, that he had, comparatively speaking, no fagging to do. But in 1829 so greatly had the list of Fourth Book boys diminished, that the Junior Part of the Fifth boys had to be set to do their work, and an *émeute* against the supposed invasion of their privileges, was the result. It is not unlikely that the occurrence in question, which attracted a good deal of public attention, increased the evil complained of. Certain it is that within five or six years after it, Junior Part of the Fourth expired by inanition; and before 1840, Middle Part of the Fourth followed its example. In 1844, I found only one class generically known as "Fourth Book." Subsequently, I have been told, even that has become extinct.

Johnson gives a list of the Books studied in his time. It appears that the whole school (on Saturdays) learned Dean Nowell's Catechism; that the Sixth Book read Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Hesiod, Martial, and Robinson's Rhetoric; the Fifth, several of the same authors, and some Lyric poet (Theognis apparently); the Fourth, Ovid, Cicero's Offices, and occasionally Terence.

Homer and Virgil have continued to be the chief books studied at the school down to the present day. No two more admirable authors could be chosen for the upper forms of a school. But I doubt whether it was wise to introduce them into classes, so low in the school as Junior Part of the Fifth, and Fourth Book. It would be impossible to teach boys so young, as those belonging to these two forms, the dialectic variations of the one, or the irregular constructions of the other. The continual departures from ordinary rule perplex and bewilder a beginner. This more than makes up for the interest which even a small boy feels in the adventures of Ulysses in the

den of the Cyclops, and the island of Circe ; or the excitement of the boxing-match and boat-race, in the Fifth *Æneid* of Virgil. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was occasionally the text-book, however little it can bear comparison with the *Æneid* as a work of art, was much better suited to teach the principles of Latin Grammar, and similarly some easy play of Euripides (omitting, of course, the choruses) would have rendered the parsing and proving of sentences a much easier task than it was wont to be.

Horace, also, was a favourite book at Winchester in past generations, though it does not appear that he was so in Johnson's day. Horace was Dr. Gabell's pet author, and the Doctor is reputed to have understood him better than any other scholar of his day : his admiration for Horace and Cicero were unbounded. "It used to be a grand sight," writes one of his pupils, "to see Gabell pacing up and down in front of Pulpiteers, repeating with reverential intonation some striking passage from one of Horace's Odes, or exclaiming ever and anon, when something of peculiar force occurred in the 'de Amicitîâ,' or 'de Senectute,' 'great and good man Cicero wa-as!'" It was doubtless due to Dr. Gabell that Horace was so generally read, in the lower as well as in the upper classes, in the generations succeeding him.

There are no better writers than Homer, Horace, and Virgil ; but there can be no question, I think, that they engrossed too much of the school-work ; sufficient time was not left for other authors of equal importance, especially the Attic Greeks. "The Attic Greek," says Dr. Moberly, "is to us Greek *par excellence*." A boy, if he learns to write Greek prose, learns to write *Attic* Greek. How could it be other-

wise? All the best models—Plato, Xenophon, the Orators—all wrote in the Attic dialect. Again, if Greek *verse* be attempted, it is almost invariably the Greek Iambic, of which Sophocles and Euripides are the patterns. How can a boy hope to succeed in an exercise, of which no good model is constantly brought before his notice? Yet the pure Attic writers were not studied at all, except in the Sixth Form, and not much there. I never remember being set to compose in Greek at all, unless doing Bishop Huntingford's Greek exercises could be so called. Afterwards, at the University, Wykehamists found themselves fully on a par with men of other public schools as regarded Latin composition—a fact proved sufficiently by the number of times in which they carried off the prizes for Latin verse. But in the matter of Greek composition, they were generally obliged to work hard to overtake their neighbours. This however was, I believe, entirely rectified, under the *régime* which followed.

The regular compositions of the week used to be, one theme (or “prose-task,” as the boys called it), one “verse-task,” and a “vulgus” two or three times a-week. The “prose-tasks,” in the lower part of the school, were in general choice specimens of the kind of Latin known usually as “dog.” An attempt was made to improve their extreme wretchedness, by giving the junior boys what were called “ideas” for their themes; but the remedy was, if anything, worse than the disease. Instead of taking the ideas as things to be amplified and followed out, the boys generally turned them literally (as they supposed), into Latin, making every conceivable blunder between the two languages. Here was certainly another fault: no boy should be allowed to attempt

original composition—especially that most difficult of all compositions, Latin prose—until he has mastered, not only the grammar of the language, but in a great measure its idiomatic expressions.

The old practice of translating a portion of any Latin author construed in school (say Caesar's Commentaries, or some easy treatise of Cicero) into tolerably idiomatic English, and then requiring it to be re-translated and compared with the original, is preferable to any other. It not only teaches composition more successfully than any other way with which I am acquainted, but gives a more thorough comprehension of the author's style and meaning. Exercise-books, in which one rule after another of the Latin Grammar is explained and exemplified, are seldom found to answer their purpose. A boy does the examples in general correctly enough, and without much difficulty, the rule immediately illustrated being as it were forced upon his notice; but he fails to apply the knowledge acquired, when a similar passage occurs in any of the pieces given him for translation. A book like Ellis is often of great use to a more advanced scholar, helping him to arrange more accurately the knowledge he has acquired; but it affords usually little help in the first acquisition of the knowledge. Of course, care must be taken, that the boys do not get hold of the passage chosen in the author. I found it better, myself, to alter the names of persons and places, and any remarkable words which might occur in the passage, so as to throw them off the scent, which was, in general, very keen. I should myself have hesitated to allow boys to write one sentence of original Latin prose, until they had attained to Senior Part of the Fifth.

The same objection hardly applies to *verse* composition. A boy cannot there scribble down the first trash that comes into his head, paying no heed to idiom or grammar rules; he has not only to turn English words into Latin, but to arrange them into verses, which he must make scan. This involves a good deal of pains, and if persisted in, will teach him at last to do Latin verse, more or less tolerable, according to his capacity. Here the evils to be guarded against are, first, a boy's getting some one else to do his verses for him. This is common enough in all large schools. It costs a reasonably clever boy, especially when high up in the school, very little trouble to rattle off four lines of commonplace verses; and in requital of this, a big, heavy boy is willing to give a very handsome equivalent—to fight his patron's battles for him perhaps, to write his impositions, to bestow on him delicacies from his last "cargo" from home, to "back him up" generally, as the Wykehamical phrase runs. Secondly, there are the old "compos books," handled so forcibly by Mr. Hughes in "Tom Brown's School-days." Some boys were in possession of small, but bulky quartos, the accretion of I know not how many generations of boys; in which almost every possible subject had been made the theme of a verse-task or vulgus; of these they made such continual use, that hardly on one occasion throughout a half-year would they be under the necessity of composing anything for themselves. No one can dispute that Mr. Hughes rightly enough argues against the use of these books, as a dishonest evasion of duty—as practical falsehood, in fact. But the Masters in any school ought to cut off this temptation among all junior boys, as well as in the instance of all those higher in the

school, whom they have reason to suspect of it, by simply rendering it impossible. Let them collect the boys into a room, place them sufficiently widely apart from one another to prevent the possibility of their holding communication with one another; give them the subject for their verses, after they have taken their places, and require them to complete their exercises before they are allowed to go. If this were persisted in, vicarious verse-writing and "old compos" books would both be put to the rout. I remember this practice being set on foot, in sheer despair of mending the evil in any other way; and in the following week one of the juniors ran away from the school. He was brought back, and when asked what had been his reason for playing truant, answered frankly, that he "never had done his own verses since he had been in the school, until last week, and he could not endure having to do them."

But this habit did not, as a rule, prevail in the upper classes of the school. It was rare for a boy, after he had reached Senior Part Fifth, to get others to do his verses; indeed, boys who were either incapable of doing their own exercises, or so incorrigibly idle as systematically to refuse to do them, rarely mounted above the junior forms. In Senior Part of the Fifth almost all learned to do Latin verse with at least a fair amount of proficiency, while in Sixth Book the verse-tasks were often very superior compositions. The old volumes of "*Carmina Wiccamica MSS**" contain a great number of

* Among these are poems, in Latin, by Bishops Lipscomb and Shuttleworth, Dean Chandler, Warden Barter, Archdeacon Fearon, J. Poulter, J. Warton, Bingham, Smith, and E. Wickham; and poems, in English, by many of those above-mentioned, Archbishop Howley, Bishop Mant, Bartholomew,

poems in Latin and English verse, which are in themselves a sufficient proof of this assertion.

"Vulgusses" (said to have been introduced, along with "varyings," by Dr. Gabell) hardly reached to the same standard of excellence as the verse-tasks. They were, it is to be presumed, designed to be epigrams—four lines for the juniors, six for the upper classes. But epigrams are not easy things to write; and besides, the boys had no model of epigrammatic writing to imitate^f. I can recall very few good "vulgusses" done in my time, and these few were the composition of boys at the very top of the school.

Besides the weekly themes and verses, there was another exercise called "gatherings," said, like the "vulgusses" and "varyings^g," to have been of Dr. Gabell's introduction. They were done about once in three weeks, but only at certain portions of the year. The exercise consisted of criticisms, in Latin prose, on some poem of celebrity. Those who took pains would obtain a "*bene*" for their performance, and this was regarded as a great distinction. "Gatherings" were made a great deal of in all parts of the school during Gabell's reign; afterwards they fell into comparative neglect, except in Sixth Book, where they always held a prominent place.

These, I believe, formed the total of the compositions required from the boys; but there was a common practice of sending in copies of Latin, and

Lee Torre, R. Sewell, &c., which may well compare with those produced by pupils at any public school.

^f At what time the study of "Martial" was given up I am unable to say. An expurgated edition of this author ought certainly to be used in the school, if "vulgusses" are to be required of the boys.

^g See Glossary, on "Varyings."

sometimes (though more rarely) English verses, on one of the subjects which had been previously set by the Master as a school exercise, or, perhaps, on one chosen by the writer himself. These were called "voluntaries." They were, in general, considerably longer than the ordinary verse-tasks, and occupied a good deal of their composer's time and attention. One particular form of the "voluntary" was the Præfect's "Easter-task," which he recited at the chamber-speaking during Easter-time. If this was particularly good, it was chosen to be again delivered at "Commoners'-speaking" in the first week of "Cloister-time." The "voluntaries" at other periods of the year were examined by the Head-master with great care; and if they were found to merit approval, and were free from errors, he usually, after commending them, delivered them over to the head boy of the class, to be read by him, and passed on to the others in like manner for perusal. This was called being "handed down," and corresponded to being "sent up for good" at Eton. The boys who were working hard in the two upper classes of the school, would sometimes attain this distinction four or five times in the course of the half-year—sometimes in the instance of one of the regular school compositions, and sometimes of one of these "voluntaries." Perhaps nothing more stimulated boys to work vigorously and persistently than this practice.

In the lower classes—all, that is to say, below Senior Part of the Fifth—a Register was kept, called the "Classic Paper" (said to have been, like the "varyings" and "vulgusses" and "gatherings," of Dr. Gabell's introduction). This contained the names of all the boys in the class in their school order. Once at every lesson the boys were "marked:" the

junior boy received one mark ; the next above him, two ; and so on up to the head boy. The marks were added up at the end of every week, and a new list made accordingly. As there were sometimes as many as fifty or sixty boys in a class, the numbers registered by the seniors were large, and a failure in a single lesson—for which the ordinary penalty was the being sent junior—would lose any boy all chance of obtaining the highest place. Towards the end of the half-year, when the competition had become very close between the leaders, every slip, however slight, in grammar or prosody, became of grave consequence. I have known a boy, who would almost certainly have gained Cloister-books, lose not only the prize, but two or three more places in the class, by a moment's indiscretion. One of his friends was set on to construe a stiff bit in the *Odyssey*, and was in imminent peril of being "crippled:" he cast an appealing glance round him for help ; the senior boy was moved with compassion, and whispered a word to him across the school ; the Master heard, and sent the offender to the bottom of the class. It was two or three weeks before he recovered his former position ; and during that interval he had forfeited several hundreds of marks.

A practice prevailed—not during "Cloister-time," at which period the occurrence just mentioned took place, but in "Common-time"—which would probably have rendered the penalty above-named a good deal less severe. After the lesson had been construed and parsed, the boys were allowed to ask one another "questions." The junior was first invited to put any question he pleased—provided it was *apropos* to the lesson for the day—to any one of his form-fellows. If the boy chosen, and all below

him, were unable to answer it, and the asker himself gave the right answer, he was allowed to take the places of all who had failed. Then the second junior had his turn, and so on up to the senior. When there was a close run for the prize-books, towards the end of the half-year, this trial often proved highly exciting. In general, few of the lower boys in the class availed themselves of it.

I remember, however, upon one occasion an exceedingly amusing scene taking place. There was a boy—one W.—who was almost invariably at the bottom of his Part, and who took things as easily as any youth of his age ever did. The Head-master inquired of him, as he did of all the others, “whether he wished to ask any question?” but as little anticipating an affirmative reply, as if he had made the inquiry of the “vimen quadrifidum” at his side. But to the astonishment of all, W. replied that he did, and getting on his legs, propounded to the head boy the inquiry, “Why was Alexander (in Homer) called Paris?” The Doctor looked puzzled. He did not know any reason himself; but there might be a reason, given by some authority, though he had never heard of it. “Well,” he observed, after a moment’s hesitation, “you hear the question, ‘Why was Alexander called Paris?’” The head boy replied that he did not know, and so said all the others. “Now, then, W.,” said the Doctor, with an evident touch of curiosity in his tone, “get up and tell them.” “Oh, Sir, *I* dont know, I’m sure,” said W., “I only asked for information!” The Doctor, who felt that it had somehow devolved upon him to solve the difficulty thus started, which he was unable to do, was roused to no small wrath, and punished the unlucky inquirer pretty sharply.

Another practice peculiar to the school, but by whom or when introduced I cannot learn, was "standing up." In the last week or so of the summer half-year, the boys, in every part of the school excepting Sixth Book, and Senior Part of the Fifth, were required to take up eight lessons chosen from some Greek or Latin author. These they were obliged to be able to construe, and to say by rote. There was a minimum as regarded the length of each lesson, according to a boy's position in the school; but there was no maximum. The lowest junior in Fourth Book might take up any number of lines he pleased. He procured from the College bookseller a paper ruled so as to contain eight oblong spaces, in which he wrote down the particulars of his lessons, with some motto of his own selection inscribed above. He might choose any one of the Masters he preferred, to hear his lesson. He was first required to construe a number of passages chosen here and there, and then in like manner to repeat others by heart; and at the conclusion of the lesson, marks were given him according to his performance. If he acquitted himself, say, tolerably in both departments, he would receive a "*benè, benè*;" if more than tolerably, "*vix optimè*;" if decidedly well, "*optimè*;" if brilliantly, "*quàm optimè*." If his display was a very indifferent one, he would have a "*mediocriter*," if downright bad, a "*malè*." According to all these notices, he would receive so many marks—for a "*mediocriter*" one for every hundred lines; for a "*benè*," three; for a "*vix opt.*," five; for an "*opt.*," seven; for a "*quàm opt.*," nine. If the endorsement on his paper was "*malè*," he not only obtained no marks, but was liable to punishment. Thus a boy might receive for every hundred lines,

as many as eighteen marks, or supposing him to recite ten thousand lines in the eight lessons, eighteen hundred for the whole "standing up." This was added to the total of the Classicus Paper for the half-year, and materially affected the final order of the boys. A line of Virgil was, so to speak, the standard. Every line of Greek verse, or of Latin prose, counted as three Virgilian lines; while three lines of Horace's Odes reckoned as two of Virgil.

There was no part of the school-work which was of more value than this. In the first place, it materially strengthened a boy's memory. The memory is a machine, and more capable of improvement than is generally believed. I have little belief in short memories, regarded as natural and irremediable defects. One boy may be naturally quicker than another in this particular, but almost all boys are capable of remembering a good deal, and remembering it very well. I have known a school-fellow who, for the life of him, never could learn his repetition, nevertheless go through the whole of the scores in the matches with Eton and Harrow from the very first, giving each player his correct number of runs, and particularising the manner in which he was out. I have known another, of no remarkable capacity, able to say the whole of the English Bible by rote. Put him on where you would, he would go fluently on, as long as any one would listen. Very large "standings up," were said sometimes. I have known as many as 13,000 and 14,000 lines said, and said well too. In Bishop Wordsworth's time, one boy, in Junior Part of the Fifth^h,

^h The boy in question "ran cloisters," as the phrase was; that is, at the time when middle and junior part formed one class, he took up so high in it, as to be promoted into senior

took up the whole of Virgil for his "standing up," and acquitted himself brilliantly, that being only a portion of his eight lessons.

Independently of the improvement of the memory, the complete mastery of such authors as Virgil, Horace, and often Homer, was of immense value to a young scholar. Be it remembered, he must construe it, as well as repeat it, correctly. Indeed, it would be extremely difficult for any one who did not understand the meaning of an author to learn his verses correctly. But above all, this exercise was of benefit to a boy, especially at so early an age, as inducing him to prepare work *for himself*. He obtained no help from the masters in these lessons, and though occasionally the senior boys would assist the juniors in their "standing up," yet in the main the boy had to rely on himself.

As regards the prizes bestowed, either generally for the school-work, or for some special subject—there are now a great many, embracing a considerable variety of subjects; but most of these have been founded in comparatively recent times. In the middle of the last century, three medalsⁱ were given, one gold, and two silver. The former was for Latin Verse Composition, the two latter for declamation. About the beginning of the present century, two gold medals, and two silver, were bestowed by the Prince Regent; and these have been continued to the school by King William IV. and the present Queen. The two gold medals are for the best Latin Verse Poem, and the best English

part in the next half, without ever being, formally, in middle part at all.

ⁱ These seem to have been given sometimes by one donor, and sometimes by another—Lords Ailesbury, Bruce, and Rivers, amongst others.

Essay, one year; and the best English Verse Poem, and the best Latin Essay, the next. The silver medals are, as before, for recitation.

Next to them in respect of antiquity, or possibly older, are "the books,"—two volumes handsomely bound, with the arms of the donor stamped on them, given to the two best boys in each part of the school. These, like the medals, have been the gifts of various benefactors—at one time of Lord Rivers, at another of Lord Ailesbury, at another of the Duke of Buckingham. The present donor, I believe, is Lord Saye and Sele. These prizes are determined in the lower parts of the school by the *Classicus Paper*. In those parts where the *Classicus Paper* does not exist, the Head-master selects the two whom he considers to have shewn the greatest ability and industry throughout the half-year.

In the year 1832, Sir William Heathcote, of Hursley Park near Winchester, established a prize of thirty guineas for the successful competitor in an examination in Divinity, Classics, History and Mathematics, to be held annually towards the close of the winter half-year. In this he followed the example of the Duke of Newcastle's munificence at Eton some few years previously. This prize was of immense advantage to the school, testing, as it did, by a standard independent of the ordinary school-work, the actual abilities and acquirements of each candidate. In 1846, scholarships, four in number, to the value of £25 a-year, and tenable for four years, were founded in grateful memory of Dr. Goddard, whose noble benefactions have been elsewhere recorded. These scholarships, every fourth year, are augmented by a donation from the Pitt fund, to the amount of £5. On the establishment

of these benefactions, Sir W. Heathcote discontinued his prize. Subsequently to Sir W. Heathcote's gift, but previously to the foundation of the Goddard Exhibitions, a prize of books for Greek Iambics was bestowed by Bishop Maltby, and two others for Mathematics by Philip B. Duncan, Esq., of New College.

It is also proper to mention that there are certain exhibitions attached to the school, not of the nature of prizes, excepting in so far as they are given only to boys of good character. These are (1.) The Fox and Burton Exhibitions, tenable each for four years, and of the value of £30. (2.) The Chernocke Exhibitions, given on similar terms, each worth £25. (3.) Certain Winchester College Exhibitions for Superannuates, also tenable for four years, and worth £50 a-year each. (4.) The Cobden Exhibition at Trinity College, Oxford, also amounting to £50 a-year.

The reader will understand that I deal with these subjects as they existed under Dr. Moberly's Headmastership, with which my history terminates. Whatever new arrangements have been made by the Public School Commissioners will be recorded in Chap. xxiv.



College Meads.

CHAPTER XX.

GAMES.

NEXT in order to the studies of the boys, we naturally consider their sports and amusements. What these were in the Founder's time we can only conjecture, from a knowledge of what the ordinary recreations of boys in those days were. The Founder in his Statutes forbids field-sports. No one, master or boy, is to keep hounds, or nets for hunting, or ferrets, or hawks, or to shoot with a bow and arrow, or hurl javelins, either inside or outside the college. It is probable, that as the seventy Scholars were all designed for a grave and reverend profession, these things were altogether interdicted as unsuitable. The Founder also forbids violent and tumultuous sports, such as wrestling, leaping, dancing, hustling one another, &c., in the chapel, the cloisters, the hall, and the schoolroom, whereby (he says) damage may ensue to the college buildings, or to the clothes of the boys. The latter consideration shews that it is not within the precincts of the college only that these things are forbidden, but absolutely and everywhere. The Statutes, it should be noted, do not anywhere state in what sports the boys are allowed to partake; and considering how very minute are the directions given for every particular of their every-day life, this is somewhat remarkable: but it must in common sense be assumed, that although "active games" were interdicted within, and immediately outside the college, yet when the boys went on to "Hills," they were permitted to amuse them-

selves with the ordinary sports of the day—marbles, quoits, kayles, cloishes (the skittles and nine-pins of our day), hand-ball, foot-ball, leap-frog, and the like. Christopher Johnson specifies certain “innocent games,” as he calls them, which were played on Hills during his time:—

—“ejecto discas bene ludere disco,
Seu pila delectat palmaria^a, sive per auras
Sæpe repercusso pila te juvat acta bacillo^b,
Seu pedibus calcata tuis—his lusibus uti
Innocuis fas est.”

He adds, that there are other games also lawful, which he is unwilling to enumerate; though why, does not appear.

It is likely that there has been less change in the school-sports for many generations past than might be supposed. Such amusements as cock-throwing, bear and bull-baiting, and the like—common enough all over England in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, and not unfrequent even to the close of the eighteenth, century—do not appear ever to have formed part of the regular amusements of the

^a Of the antiquity of the games of quoits and hand-ball there can, of course, be no doubt. They were the favourite games of the Greeks and Romans in the classical ages. Foot-ball seems also to have been known to the Romans, and was common enough, especially in the northern parts of England, in the Middle Ages.

^b This game may have been the cricket of that day, or rather, the game out of which cricket was developed, so to speak; for cricket, as now played, is not older than the middle of the last century, and was probably not in vogue with the boys even then, as T. Warton does not describe it in his “Mons Catharina.” The earliest form of the game seems to have been the “creag,” which was a favourite amusement with the Saxons, even before the Norman Conquest: it was played with a bat and ball, but there was no wicket (which was not introduced till nearly the end of the last century), and the bat was shaped like a golf-club. It is probable that the “stool-ball” (described by Strutt, p. 76), is the immediate parent of modern cricket—the word “cricket,” among other meanings, denoting “a stool.”

school. The bears sent by the Duke of Clarence in Edward IV.'s time, were to be looked at, not baited. It is possible that the boys may have been allowed to go and see such sports at fairs, &c., under the escort of their Masters: and it would have been in keeping with the spirit of the times if they were: but there is no evidence that such diversions were carried on at the expense of the college. Nothing, so far as I am aware, resembling the "hunting of the ram" at Eton (where the college butcher is said to have been obliged annually to provide a ram for the purpose) ever existed at the sister college.

The chief Wykehamical amusements have long been, as they still are, fives (both hand and bat), foot-ball, and cricket; to these must be added, in quite recent times, rifle-shooting, and rowing on the river Itchen.

At what time the Fives-court at the back of the school was constructed, I am unable to say. From the appearance of the back-frontage of that building, one might fancy that the architect had some idea of making a fives-court there, when he designed it; at all events, it has been used for that purpose far beyond the reach of any living memory; and a very good fives-court it is. I have already noticed the munificent gift of Mr. Ridding, Hostiarius from 1824 to 1835, of the Fives-courts in Fellows' Meads.

The two principal games of the school, however, are cricket in summer, and foot-ball in winter. The College Meads, in former times, formed an excellent ground, the only objection to it being, that it was not large enough to allow of more than one eleven playing on it at a time. As, until quite recently, no College-boys were allowed to go outside the walls,

on pain of expulsion^c (except when they went "on" to Cathedral and Hills), it followed, as a matter of necessity, that all the great matches were played in College Meads.

It was usual, and I daresay still is so, to commence the cricket season with what was called "two guinea match," the twenty-two players, who were presumed to be the best of the season, being arranged in two elevens made as nearly equal as possible. The Head-master, I believe, paid, or was supposed to pay, the two guineas.

Then there followed other matches, "Præfects and Inferiors," when the latter could muster a sufficiently good eleven to make anything of a fight of it; matches with the "town club," or "country clubs," or the "officers," or "old Wykehamists," who at the beginning of the Long Vacation came down in considerable numbers from the Universities. There were also the "junior" and "middle matches," the former played usually at morning Hills, the latter on turf, at times when the ground was not engaged by any more important contest; they excited a certain amount of interest, as any struggles between the two great divisions of the school were sure to awaken, just as the torpid races between the colleges do at Oxford. But the great excitement of the year was the Senior match, between Commoners and College; the interest taken in this by both sides, was such as only boys are capable of feeling. I doubt whether the sensation of the Derby-day, or of the Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, comes up to it. I remember well, when I was a Commoner-junior, as I lay with my compeers in "long-grass,"

^c "Extra collegium absque veniâ exeuntes tertiâ vice expellimas."—Tabul. Legan.

when the first innings of the redoubtable struggle commenced, how I felt as if all the hopes and fears of life were bounded by its issue. If our side won, then no possible evil that could befall us would be of any serious consequence; but, if the day went against us, the very heavens would be hung with black—nothing could ever wipe out the memory of such a calamity. How eagerly, and with what affectionate reverence did we follow with our eyes our great batsman, Sockster, as he moved, weapon in hand, to the wicket! How did we hold our breath when that terrible dodger, Screwem, the College bowler, delivered one of his insidious twisters! What a sigh of relief when our champion skilfully stopped it! What a thunder of exultation when the ball flew far down to "Sick-house Meads," or "Amen-corner," or "Ball-court," or haply over the wall altogether, and six runs were added to the hero's score! What a sinking of the heart, when Shooter, the other College bowler, justified his name only too well, by a ball which flew like a rifle-bullet from his hand, and darting under Sockster's bat, scattered his stumps like nine-pins! How did our spirits rise again, when during the innings of the "College-fellows," that safest of fields "Badger^d Steady," rushed forward to catch a tremendous slash made by "Swopper," the most terrible of the College eleven, and just contrived to hold the ball in his left hand! What was there that Steady could have asked of us at that moment, that we would not cheerfully have given him? When we *did* prove victorious—and the palm

^d This *sobriquet* "Badger," was continually affixed to boys' names, simply denoting that they were objects of amusement to their school-fellows, either from their stupidity, or their good humour, or their eccentricity. The name carried no reproach.

of victory in those days was pretty evenly divided ; when the last College wicket fell, our score being still some twenty in advance ; or when one of our champions made the final hit, there being still some wickets on our side to go down—what a shout was that which burst from our united throats ! Shall we ever hear a shout like it again ? It was all very well to win the matches we played with the “garrison,” or the “town,” or the “old Wykehamists.” It gratified our *esprit de corps* to come off victorious, and it was a good omen for our success in the Public School matches at Lord’s. But these triumphs were tame, compared with those won over our great rivals.

Then there were the foot-ball encounters, which occurred in the short half-year. These were an equally stirring spectacle—more so, if possible, seeing that the interest in them was concentrated within a comparatively short space of time. Senior match at cricket consisted of three games ; always supposing, that is, that the same side did not win the first two matches, as in that event, of course, no third trial was required. Only a few hours in every day were available for cricket, and on some days only one ; hence a game sometimes extended over a day or two, and the entire contest over a fortnight. During this time, it was the continual topic of conversation ; hopes, fears, conjectures multiplied as the struggle advanced, until all concentrated on the final *coup*. But the great foot-ball matches lasted each for only a single hour. There was the twenty-two and twenty-two match, played according to traditional usage on the fifth of November ; that was a sight to witness indeed ! As my readers may not be all Wykehamists, I will briefly describe it. An

oblong space was marked out, outside which if the ball should be driven, it was brought back, and thrown in at the same spot whence it issued. The space marked off was fenced, at the date of which I write, by a row of juniors, who stood side-by-side for the entire distance, and whose business it was to prevent the ball from escaping. At either end, in the centre of the open space, a boy was placed, who stood with outstretched legs, and a gown rolled up at either foot; he was called the "goal." If the ball was kicked by either party between him and the last boy of the line on either side, one was scored by the side that kicked it; if it passed over the gown, and the goal failed to touch it, it was called a "gownner," and counted two; but if it was kicked between his legs, or immediately over his head, it reckoned as a goal, and three were registered for it. At the beginning of the game, the ball was placed exactly in the centre of the lists, both parties being withdrawn to a certain distance from it. Then the signal was given, and they rushed forward in a compact throng, and surrounded the ball, stooping forward and butting at each other, like the testudines of a Roman army, when besieging a town; this was called in Wykehamical phrase "a hot," nor was any phrase ever better deserved, or more expressive. Presently the ball would be forced out, by the superior weight or skill of one party or the other, and kicked towards one of the goals; then the chiefs of the side, who stood on guard behind, would rush up and drive it in the opposite direction, rushing (or "charging," as it was called) after it. It would be returned by those behind on the other side, and kicked to and fro, till driven out of the enclosure; when it would be replaced, and a fresh "hot" formed

round it. This was the general idea of the game, though there were many special rules, which men belonging to other public schools were, in general, slow to comprehend.

It is obvious, that in this game, supposing there to be anything like equality of play, the stronger and heavier party must, in the long run, carry the day. Pluck and skill availed much, but not enough to turn the scale ; might delay, but could not prevent, defeat. It was in the other favourite Wykehamical game of "Six-and-six" that these qualities won the victory. This contest, when the players were really good, was a beautiful sight to witness. If any one wishes to learn how powerful, active, and enduring the human frame may be in the prime of its youthful vigour, he should look on at a game of "Six-and-six."

Beside the games played amongst the boys themselves, there were those which annually took place with two of the other great public schools, Eton and Harrow. These began rather more than fifty years ago, when a game was occasionally played, but only occasionally, between Winchester and one or other of these antagonists ; until the year 1832, when they became a regular annual custom. From that date to 1855, matches between the three greatest English schools were played every year, at the end of July or beginning of August, on Lord's cricket-ground. Since 1855, one of the three matches has been dropped altogether, and another played alternately at Eton and at Winchester. The third, between Eton and Harrow, continues to be played, as before, at Lord's^e.

^e The only exception was in 1837 ; when the Wykehamists went to Harrow, and there was no match with Eton.

The first match in which Winchester was engaged was with Harrow, in 1825 ; and it was a memorable contest, for more than one reason. The Captain of the Winchester eleven was Christopher Wordsworth, the present Bishop of Lincoln ; and the Captain of the Harrovians was his brother, Charles Wordsworth, afterwards Hostiarius at Winchester, and Bishop of St. Andrew's. Any one who has witnessed the brilliant play of the latter, would be somewhat surprised at the result of the encounter, the Harrow eleven being beaten by one hundred and thirty-nine runs ! Among the players on the losing side was another eminent public man—no less a personage than Cardinal Manning, who hardly shewed himself so formidable a controversialist as he has done on later occasions of his life. He obtained only six runs in the first innings, and succumbed in the second to Price, the renowned New College Bursar, with a round O added to his name. In the ensuing year the Cardinal was Captain of his side ; but it sustained a still more disastrous defeat, losing the day by three hundred and eighty-four runs, of which one hundred and forty-six were obtained by W. Meyrick, one of the Winchester champions.

In this year (1826) the first match between Winchester and Eton was played. The Wykehamists were victorious, winning by fifty-three runs, the brilliant Meyrick again obtaining the long score of eighty-eight. It ought, however, to be noted, that two of the Eton eleven were absent at the second innings of their side, and one of them was the best bat among them. There was a contest with Eton again in 1829, when the Wykehamists were, for the first time, defeated on the London ground, the Etonians bearing off the palm, with four wickets to

go down. In the following year the struggle with Harrow was renewed, and Winchester regained its ascendancy, proving victorious in one innings by fifty-nine runs.

Winchester did not again appear on Lord's ground in 1831; but in 1832 commenced the regular series of encounters, which lasted for nearly thirty years. During this period Winchester, though by no means as uniformly successful as she had been in the earlier contests, nevertheless held her own gallantly; and, considering that she certainly played under disadvantages, has no cause to feel otherwise than proud of her performances. The Etonians were successful in 1832, the bowling of the Winchester champion having been declared to be inadmissible, according to the rules of that day. They conquered again in 1833, when Canon Ryle was one of the Eton players, and the present Lord Penzance the Winchester bowler; and in 1834, Mr. Ryle this time being Captain of his side, and the present Warden of Winchester and Lord Penzance a second time, the Winchester bowlers. In 1835 the Etonians were again the victors, Mr. Pickering, one of the most famous of modern Eton players, making his appearance for the first time on that occasion. In 1836 there was a much stiffer contest than usual. The Wykehamists had defeated Harrow in one innings; and the Harrovians had been successful in their encounter with Eton. Everybody who had seen the play of the three elevens expected Winchester to gain a decisive victory in the third match; and, in all likelihood, they would have done so; but the two days during which the game lasted were so incessantly wet, that Alfred Lowth's brilliant bowling was completely spoiled by it. The Etonians, whose principal strength lay in their batting, hit

about them, as they could not have done had the turf been in playing order, and they just won the day, after a severe struggle.

No match was played at Lord's in 1837, but in 1838 the public school encounters presented a very singular result. Harrow beat Winchester in a single innings by fifty-four runs. Eton then engaged with Harrow, and won a similar hollow victory, being successful in a single innings by thirty runs. Then followed the third battle between Winchester and Eton, which, to the surprise of all, had a similar result, Winchester this time gaining the day against the conquerors of their conquerors, also in a single innings by thirty-four runs. Thus each of the three schools won a hollow victory, and sustained a crushing defeat! In 1839 the Etonians once more achieved an easy triumph, though V. C. Smith, the most renowned of all modern Wykehamical cricketers, made his first appearance on the London turf that year. The Wykehamists recovered their ground in 1840, and gained a still more brilliant success in 1841, V. C. Smith playing then for the third time, and on this occasion as Captain. He re-appeared as Captain in the ensuing year; but, notwithstanding his fine play, which grew more formidable every year, the Etonians contrived to defeat him. Probably they thought that now, at least, they were rid of him; but in 1843 he once more presented himself, for the third time, as Captain, and the fifth time as player, and carried all before him with a score of ninety-one runs.

In 1844 two distinguished Etonians made their appearance: Chitty, the most celebrated of Etonian cricketers, and J. C. Patteson, afterwards the noble-minded Bishop of Melanesia. The struggle this year

was a severe one, but ended in favour of Eton by twenty-seven runs.

The contest in 1845 was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed on any ground. The Wykehamists went in first (the present Archdeacon of Bedford leading off with a brilliant score), and obtained one hundred and eleven runs. The Etonians followed, registering only sixty-six. Winchester played very indifferently in their second innings, falling short of the score of their opponents in their first innings by fourteen runs. Eton had to go in for ninety-seven. They began well, and had obtained ninety-two with only five bats down. The Wykehamists, of course, regarded the match as hopelessly lost. Many, who had betted on Winchester, paid their wagers, and left their ground. It was expected that another over would finish it; but at this moment, one of the Eton players was bowled, and soon after another was run out. The eighth player came to the wicket, and was sent back after scoring two. The ninth appeared, and he, too, retired after two had been obtained. The tenth took his place in the midst of such excitement as has seldom been felt, even on Lord's cricket-ground. The new-comer was the Eton bowler, comparatively speaking, a poor bat, and naturally nervous under such circumstances. The Etonians were still one run behind, and the prospect looked bad for them; but the Winchester bowler was nervous too, and delivered a wide-ball, which made the scores even. The next ball was struck sharply out, and the batsmen ran across. The Etonians thought the day won, threw up their white hats, and shouted their loudest; but the next moment their note was changed. The ball was beautifully fielded, thrown up, and the

wicket put down, before the Eton player could reach it. The Wykehamists now threw up their *black* hats, and shouted louder than their opponents!

But this was their last achievement for many a day. In the five next matches, Eton were the winners; in 1846, 1847, and 1849, they won in one innings; in 1848 and 1850, after something of a struggle. In 1851, the Wykehamists again registered a victory, mainly in consequence of their having put themselves under the tuition of the crack bowler, Lillywhite. His training had such good effect, that they triumphed, not only in 1851, but in 1852, 1853, and 1854; after which, Winchester appeared no more on the London cricket-ground. Thus far, there had been twenty-five matches between the two schools, of which Eton had won fourteen, and Winchester ten; that in 1845 having been a tie match.

Of the twenty-four matches played between Harrow and Winchester, Harrow won thirteen, viz. in 1837, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1853, and 1854; and Winchester was successful in eleven—in 1825, 1826, 1830, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1840, 1844, 1845, 1851, and 1852. It will be observed, that the Winchester victories were mainly won previously to 1845, during which period Harrow was greatly reduced in numbers, there being less than seventy boys in the school in 1844. On the other hand, the Harrow successes were chiefly subsequent to 1845, when that school again rose in numbers, and Winchester became liable to a similar depression. Were the matches between them to be resumed now, when both schools are overflowing in numbers, no contest could be imagined more likely to be evenly contested.

But since 1854, as the reader has heard, the an-

nual encounter with the Harrovians, has been altogether discontinued. That with Eton has been kept up, the two elevens playing in alternate years in the Eton Playing-fields, and the College Meads at Winchester. The result of these matches has been one which certainly could not have been anticipated. The Etonians have almost uniformly been the victors, and in general have gained an easy triumph. They were successful in 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, and 1877. Against this long list of victories, the Wykehamists can only count successes in 1858, 1859, 1870, and 1871, while in 1865 the match was left unfinished on account of the rain. This result, I say, is very surprising. Up to 1854, the Wykehamists had certainly played under considerable disadvantage. The Eton and Harrow holidays began at the end of July, and the two elevens from those schools went up to Lord's cricket-ground directly from their own. The Winchester boys had gone home three weeks before, and of course had broken off their joint practice. This was in itself a decided injury to their play. But, more than this, some of their best players were often unable to come up at all. Scarcely ever did they muster more than eight or nine of their regular eleven, and had, year after year, to pick up any boys who might be on the ground, to take the place of some absent champions. Nor could the absentees be reasonably blamed. It is one thing to travel the short railway-journey from Windsor to Paddington, or the still shorter one from Harrow to Euston-square, and another to come some hundreds of miles,—from the north of Scotland, perhaps, or the wilds of Galway. Parents might reasonably object, and often did object, to incurring so

heavy an expense for the sake of a cricket-match. Again, for many years previously to 1854, the numbers at Winchester had undergone such serious diminution, that it was little wonder if they were unable to raise an eleven to compete with schools trebling and quadrupling them in number; and, to complete the tale, their cricket-ground was greatly inferior to those of their opponents.

But every one of these drawbacks has of late years been removed. The Winchester eleven all appear on the ground, and play together up to the very day of the Eton match. They have ample space for any amount of practice; and their numbers are nearly twice as great as were those of their fathers, who held their own, under all disadvantages. I cannot attempt to explain the reason of their continued failures, and can only record the fact with regret.

Before leaving this subject, it will be proper to say a few words respecting the stoppage of the Winchester matches at Lords in 1855. This step caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among public school men at that time; and old cricketers have hardly forgiven it yet. There is, as is usual in such matters, a good deal to be said on both sides. The reader has already heard the complaints often made by parents, of the cost and inconvenience of sending their sons from a great distance, or, on the other hand, of rendering them unpopular with their school-fellows, by keeping them away. This objection was in itself a serious one; but it was not the most serious. A parent might well feel, that to turn his son, a lad of seventeen or eighteen, loose on London, with no one perhaps to look after him, for a whole week, was a very hazardous proceeding. Less than a week could not be reckoned on; for by a particularly clumsy

arrangement, the Harrow and Winchester match was played first, and the Winchester and Eton match last, so that a Wykehamist must needs outstay all three games. It has often been urged, that there were plenty of persons in London willing to lodge and keep the Winchester eleven for as long as might be required ; but—not to urge that people might not be inclined to place themselves under an obligation like this to total strangers—those who offered the hospitality might, sometimes, not be such as they would choose to place their boys with ; and it would be extremely invidious and painful to have to plead this. I do not doubt that the authorities, who put a stop to these contests, had too good reason to know how serious were the evils often produced by them.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to regret the loss of the spirited and stirring scene at Lord's, which has been so graphically described by Mr. Gale in his "Public School Matches,"—the blue sky overhead, the soft level turf below ; the lithe forms and the animated faces ; the gay badinage of the pavilion ; the ever-increasing interest of the struggle, and the unbounded rapture of its close ; the meeting of old friends and school-fellows, or, it might be, old antagonists ; the delight with which mothers and sisters clapped their hands, when "their boy" made a slashing hit for six, or caught out a formidable opponent at point ! These were incidents in the "Public School Week" at Lord's, which will long live in the memories of those who witnessed them ; and though our sober judgments cannot but approve the decision of those who suppressed these contests, we may be permitted to deplore the necessity of their suppression.

Before concluding this chapter, some brief mention ought to be made of the Rifle-contests at Wimbledon, in which Winchester has for many years taken part. The rifle corps was first formed in the long-half of 1860, but there was no shooting until 1862. In the following year an eleven was sent to Wimbledon to compete for the Ashburton Shield and Spencer Cup. They were not successful on that occasion, or in any of the succeeding years, until 1871, when they carried off the shield with a score of 299. They performed the same feat in the two ensuing years; in 1872 reckoning 313 points, and in 1873, 424. In 1874 and 1875 they were defeated by Marlborough in the first instance, and Harrow in the second; but in 1876 they were once more victorious, with the highest score they had yet registered, 493.

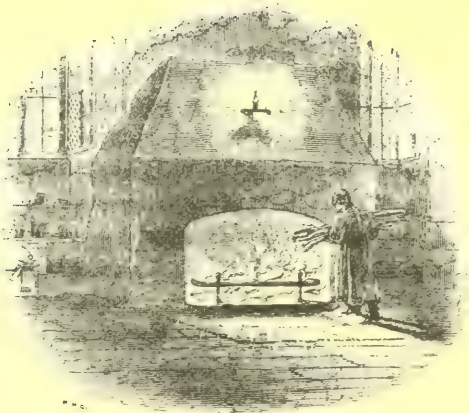
The following list will shew their achievements, as compared with other public schools:—

<i>Winners of Ashburton Shield.</i>	<i>Of Spencer Cup.</i>
1863. Eton.	Winchester.
1864. Harrow.	Cheltenham.
1865. Harrow.	Harrow.
1866 ^f . Harrow.	Harrow.
1867. Harrow.	Cheltenham.
1868. Eton.	Eton.
1869. Harrow.	Cheltenham.
1870. Harrow.	Harrow.
1871. Winchester.	Eton.
1872. Winchester.	Cheltenham.
1873. Winchester.	Marlborough.
1874. Marlborough.	Cheltenham.
1875. Harrow.	Marlborough.
1876. Winchester.	Cheltenham.
1877. Cheltenham.	Cheltenham.

^f In this year, in consequence of an accident, Winchester did not compete.

Thus it appears, that in the fourteen contests in which Winchester has competed for the Ashburton Shield, Harrow has been victorious six times, Winchester four, Eton two, Marlborough and Cheltenham, each once; while the Spencer Cup has been seven times carried off by Cheltenham; twice by Harrow; twice by Eton; twice by Marlborough; and once by Winchester. Rugby and Rossall do not appear to have obtained any victory.

Boating on the Itchen has been taken up of late years at Winchester; but the narrowness of the stream, its shallowness in many places, and the great growth of weeds during the early summer, hardly allow of rowing being practised with any success.



Boy putting on "half-faggot," Sixth Chamber.

CHAPTER XXI.

INSTITUTIONS.—PRÆFECTS' POWER.—FAGGING.

WE come now to what may be considered the last of the subjects with which we have to deal,—the institutions, peculiar customs and words current in the school. Foremost among these stand Præfectorial authority, and Fagging.

It would be useless, as well as disingenuous, to deny that Winchester, in past generations at all events, had the name of being the one among our public schools, where the system that prevailed was of the roughest. Those who attacked it, declared it to be "a dreadful school for bullying;" those who upheld it, pronounced it to be "a place where boys received a hardy and manly education:" but both were agreed as to its roughness. It is not a very easy or pleasant subject to handle; but it cannot, with propriety, be omitted. I think I may claim a hearing while I speak about it. I went, nearly fifty years ago, from Westminster (another

public school which had a bad name in those days) to Winchester, where I remained four years. I am a Wykehamist to the backbone, but I hold it to be no disloyalty to Winchester to speak the plain truth about it.

I have my life as a junior at Westminster, and also at Winchester, vividly before me. I suffered occasional hardships at the first-named school, but on the whole I enjoyed my time there; whereas at Winchester, during the first year of my stay, I was utterly wretched. If it had been proposed to the juniors of my standing at Westminster, that, without inquiry made or trouble of any kind, they should be taken away from the school and sent to some other, they would, as a rule, have refused the offer. At Winchester the proposal would, as a rule, have been accepted. Why was this? It was certainly not, that the associations of the latter school were inferior to those of the former. The fine old college, the noble chapel, the spacious schoolroom, the fresh green meads, and sparkling waters, St. Catherine's Hill, the glorious cathedral, and the unbroken traditions of 450 years, were attractions outdone by no other public school in England. The studies, again, were not unusually or needlessly severe, the boys were as good specimens of the upper and middle classes, as were ever brought together; the Masters able, kind, and upright. There was nothing connected with any of these things that need have made a junior unhappy.

I have already mentioned (in Chap. xiii.) what I believe to have been the main cause of this, so far as Commoners were concerned; and I may add, that I believe the same to have been the case, though not to the same extent, in College also. It

was that the boys were for ever shut up together. Even at the hours of recreation, the time allowed was so short, that every moment of it was, as a general rule, employed in doing the work of the Praefects. At other public schools, as for instance Westminster, there were hours together when the juniors could make up their own parties, and play their own games undisturbed. Many a row have I had up the Thames, to Hammersmith and Putney, during my sojourn there, with boys of my own age; many a pleasant bathe under green trees on the shores opposite Chelsea, (for the Thames in those days was not the muddy sewer it has subsequently become), and no senior was there to mar our enjoyment. Of an evening, when we sat together in our rooms at our Dame's house, round our own fire, we were wont to enjoy ourselves, as boys of twelve and thirteen do enjoy themselves. We made our own tea, and toasted our own bread, and boiled our own eggs, and relished thoroughly the bloater, or the pot of marmalade, which our slender purses had allowed us to purchase. When our work for the next day was done, we played, perhaps, a game of draughts or cribbage, or read an amusing book, or wrote home, or sat round the fire and told stories, in full enjoyment of our abode, which was to us—what an Englishman so prizes—our own castle. There were no such castles at Winchester. There may have been something like this in the College chambers^a, where the

^a There was a nearer approach to comfort of this kind in College than there was in Commoners. It used to be no unfrequent practice in College,—especially the night before “a thoke,”—when all chances of Masters “coming about” was over, for all the boys in a chamber to take their beds and bedding down from the bedsteads, and to arrange them in a semicircle round the fire-place, feet inwards. Then a half-

Præfects were exceptionally good-natured. But in Commoners, I never remember enjoying one such hour during the whole of my junior's life.

This was what gave Winchester its bad name; and it should be noted that this had nothing to do with the "Præfect or Monitorial system," which has been so largely connected in the public mind, with the unhappiness of the juniors at Winchester. The evils spoken of arose mainly, if not wholly, from the faulty construction and arrangements of the place. Independently altogether of these, there was the liability at Winchester, as at all other schools, to the arbitrary and capricious tyranny of the strong and cruel over the weak, which is what is really meant by bullying. The question we have to consider is, what effect Præfectorial power has on this: does it heighten, or lessen the evil?

Dr. Moberly, in his letters to Sir W. Heathcote, states, and most truly, that if it be possible to define with precision what is meant by that somewhat vague term—a public school—it means a school in which some part of the discipline is administered by the boys themselves; where the seniors have a constitutional authority assigned them over their younger schoolfellows. There are many who object to placing power in the hands of boys under any circumstances. "Few men are fit to be trusted with power," wrote an angry assailant of the Winchester system to the "Times" newspaper some thirty years ago, "few men, and no boys." But this writer forgot, that whether boys may, or may not, be fit to

faggot was lighted, and each boy crept into his bed, and there slept for the rest of the night: it really was very comfortable. This was called "pigging;" but it was, after all, but a very poor substitute for the separate-room system.

be trusted with power, neither he, nor any one else, can prevent power from being entrusted to them, and power, too, of a kind which it is not easy to resist or counteract. Look at the boys at any school. There will be some, whose bodily strength makes them the masters of the others. There will be some, whose keen wit, or daring spirit, enables them to lead the rest whithersoever they will. There will be some, whose good temper, skill in school-games, command of money, or the like, make them the idols of their schoolmates. All these things are power, real power, if that word means anything. Who is to prevent its holders from abusing it? Who is to prevent the strong lout, six feet high, and broad as an athlete across the shoulders—who is to prevent him from thrashing his small school-fellow for taking his place at lesson, or refusing to do his theme, or to lie, when questioned as to some school occurrence? Who is to restrain the reckless young scamp, whose cleverness is the admiration of his playmates, from leading them into all the mischief in which he himself delights? The Masters? The aggrieved junior will never complain to his Master of the barbarous usage he may have undergone. The school will combine to screen their leader, whatever scrape he may have got them into. The only persons capable of holding these in check are the head boys. They see the bullying, which the Master does not; they are up to the dodges of the leaders in mischief, of which he knows nothing. The junior boys will appeal to them for protection readily enough, and respect their opinion, if they advise them to abstain from some meditated escapade.

It was a deep knowledge of boy-nature which moved William of Wykeham to introduce boy-gov-

ernment into his school at Winchester. I see that Dr. Moberly, in his evidence before the Public School Commissioners, says:—"that although William of Wykeham did institute something like Præfectorial authority, yet what he designed was not the same which was subsequently introduced into the school."

For once I must presume to differ from so eminent an authority. I think the system of Præfectorial government must have been established in all its essential features, either directly by his authority, or with his concurrence. For this I have already given my reasons (in Chap. iii. p. 59 ff). But in any case there is the clearest evidence of the existing system having prevailed for more than three hundred years; and it would be difficult to advance a stronger argument in its favour than this fact affords. A government which has lasted, unchanged in all its integral features, possibly for five, but certainly for three hundred years, cannot be a bad one. Præfectorial government is about the only one that has never been disputed. The authority of the Bishops, of the House of Lords, of the Sovereign even, has frequently been rudely called in question of late years. But whoever heard of any junior disputing that of the Præfect of Hall?

All public school-men, or all except a very few, are favourable to monitorial government: all Wykehamists are so, so far as I know, to a man. Yet it is a thing which requires careful watching, or it may, easily enough, be grievously abused. I consider that it *was* grievously abused fifty years ago. Say what people will of theoretical checks, practically there was none at all, at that time, on a Præfect's authority. He was allowed to punish any

junior, for any offence, with any amount of blows he chose to inflict: there was no appeal, and no remedy. In College, the Præfect of Hall was theoretically supposed to have the right of interference between a Præfect and a junior; and if the Præfect of Hall was one who commanded great influence in the school, he might possibly interfere with success in some cases. But if the Præfect, whom he was disposed to take to task, was also strong and resolute, he would have found interference extremely difficult at the least, and probably impracticable. In Commoners, no such right of interference existed, even theoretically. Further, granting that there had been any possibility of one Præfect interposing to prevent an abuse of power by another, there would have been no opportunity of exercising it. Such punishment as was inflicted followed immediately on the offence; and this circumstance was one of the most grievous abuses of the system.

It should be noted that there were two classes of offences for which the juniors were amenable to the authority of the Præpostor. First, those committed against the discipline of the school; and secondly, those which were personal to the Præfects. Thus for example, if a junior was caught shirking out of bounds, or bringing in spirits, or making a disturbance when the rules of the school required quiet, and the like, the Præfect who detected him, or to whom complaint was made by any of the authorities, punished the offender, then and there, with his own hand. He acted in the matter more arbitrarily than the Caliph of Bagdad would have done. He inquired into the matter himself, determined whether the accused was guilty or not, fixed the proper amount of punishment to be inflicted, and himself carried

out his own sentence. The process of inquiry was neither very elaborate nor very formal. If the Præfect made a mistake as to the guilt of the party accused, or as to the extent of the penalty which the offence required, there was no help for it. The unlucky junior had to undergo it, and there was an end of it.

But these cases were not nearly so bad, as were the tundings administered for personal offences against the Præfects. In these cases, all sense of justice was often lost in the anger of the aggrieved party. Suppose a fag had wilfully, or carelessly neglected an order; suppose e.g. he had been ordered to get a Præfect's fishing-tackle ready, and had never touched it, and the Præfect lost his hour's fishing in consequence; suppose he shouted some nickname, or repeated in his hearing some insulting remark,—it was the injured party himself who was accuser, witness, judge, and executioner, in his own person. He measured the amount of the wrong done by his own personal sense of it; he administered the penalty while still burning with indignation. In the instance of a hot-tempered or vindictive boy, it is easy enough to foresee what excessive and monstrous suffering might be imposed.

No doubt, if the Head-master had been made aware of any case of this kind, he would have interfered promptly and effectually. But it was impossible for him, under the *régime* administered in those days, to know anything about such matters. No junior, however cruelly dealt with, was ever known to complain to the Masters. Dr. Moberly, in his letters to Sir W. Heathcote, states that on several occasions during his Head-mastership, he has known boys appeal against the Commoner Præfects to

him^b; and even adds, that if the Præfect of Hall were to commit any great wrong, a College-junior might make a similar appeal. If so, this argues a marked change in the feeling of the school. In the days of which I have been writing, any boy who did this, let his case be ever so strong, would have incurred more discomfort, than he could possibly have escaped by taking his thrashing.

Of course, it could never have been intended that Præfectorial power should be of this arbitrary and irresponsible character. Rather than that it should continue so, it would be better to abolish it, great as would be the loss incurred by so doing. Any one who studies Wykeham's Statutes will see that, far from committing anything resembling this unrestricted authority to the senior boys, he is most careful to limit and temper the exercise of power even by the Masters in this respect. If a boy disobeys orders, or makes a saucy retort,—not to one of his own elder school-fellows, but to the Warden or Sub-Warden themselves,—he does not order sharp and immediate correction with a rod or stick, but a reprimand in the first instance, accompanied by a threat of withdrawing a boy's commons^c. It is only in event of continued contumacy that any punishment more severe than this is to be resorted to. Again, even the Warden and Sub-Warden are not to inflict any punishment without the concurrence of the other officers^d; and the Head-master is cautioned not to

^b "Among the Commoners, the appeal to the Master is easier, and has been more frequent. In the last twenty-five years, I cannot charge myself to remember how many such cases there may have been, but I have no doubt there may have been ten or a dozen."—Letter V., p. 103.

^c Statutes, Rubr. 20.

^d Ibid. "Custos . . . cum consensu et deliberatione prædictorum Bursariorum corrigat et puniat pro commissis."

be excessive in correction^e. Is it likely that a legislator, who was so careful to limit the exercise of power within due bounds in the instance of grave and elderly men, entrusted with the highest offices in his foundation, would allow uncontrolled licence to administer the severest chastisement to be given to boys?

It could have been only in times when (as Macaulay says) pedagogues knew no way of imparting knowledge but by beating their pupils^f, that such practices on the part of the head boys of a school could have been allowed. But the state of things having once taken root, there was no inclination on the part of schoolmasters to meddle with it. It worked to some extent well, and there was a general belief that it would do more harm than good to attempt to regulate it; it was best and safest, as well as easiest, to leave it alone. We need not wonder at this; history is full of parallel instances.

But a system like this could not hold its ground in the present day. It was imperatively demanded by public opinion, that it should be either greatly modified, or altogether abolished. Happily the former has been the alternative chosen. The necessary checks on it are obvious enough — obvious, doubtless, half-a-century ago, though then it was the general opinion, that if an attempt had been made to introduce them, either the attempt would have failed, or the authority of the Præfects would have been destroyed, an idea which experience has now completely refuted. The checks are, in the first place,

^e “Hâc adhibitâ semper cautelâ, quod in castigando modum nequaquam ex cedat.”—Rubr. 12.

^f Macaulay, vol. i. p. 424.

(1.) that no junior shall be tunded², until due inquiry has been made into the case, not by a single Præfect, but by three or four at least; and (2.) that no Præfect shall be allowed to be one of the judges in any case in which he is personally concerned, much less the executioner of the sentence. In the second place, (1.) a certain number of blows should be fixed as the maximum that could be inflicted for each class of offences; and (2.) if any Præfect should exceed this number, his degradation from his office certainly, his expulsion from the school probably, should ensue. (3.) In the third place, there ought to be an appeal to the Head-master, if the accused desires it, from the sentence. But I cannot here agree with Dr. Moberly, that if a boy in this way makes "*appellatio ad Cæsarem*," the matter is thereby finally taken out of the hands of the Præfects. On the contrary, if on inquiry the sentence of the Præfects should be found to be just, it is most important to the due maintenance of their authority that it should be confirmed by the Head-master, and carried out by the Præfects. "The Head-master," says Dr. M., "does not punish by the boy's stick." Undoubtedly, if the Doctor means offences brought in the first instance to him for correction. But either the sentence passed by a Præfect is one to be recognised and approved, or it is not. It cannot be a thing recognised and approved, so long as it does not come to the notice of the Masters, but ceasing to be so as soon as they hear of it.

² The old tundings were monstrous sometimes in their severity. I have known forty and fifty cuts administered by a strong lad of eighteen, breaking perhaps half-a-dozen ground-ashes in the process, and reducing the sufferer's coat, waistcoat, and shirt to ribbons. This, too, was the mere effect of a vicious tradition, that such was the proper amount of punishment.

Closely connected with the possession of power by Præfects, but a matter nevertheless quite distinct from it, is the question of "fagging." In many persons' minds, no doubt, the two are inseparable. If a junior is to be required to obey a senior's orders—it is often said—he cannot be allowed to pick and choose which he will obey, and to which he will refuse obedience. But this seems to me to be a part of the old notion before spoken of, that it is better not to meddle with a troublesome matter, even though confessedly there is a good deal connected with it which cannot be defended. It does *not* follow that a boy, because he knows he is not obliged to obey a Præfect in some things, will refuse to obey him in any. Why should it be so? If a policeman requires you to move on, when a lawless mob is gathering, you must comply; if he desires you to pick up his hat, you need not; but his legitimate authority is no way impaired by your refusal to submit to his unauthorised requirements. Of late years, the authority of Præfects has been circumscribed in more than one matter. They have been forbidden to oblige juniors to "kick in" at foot-ball, and the hours of cricket-fagging have been abridged; yet no one has ever heard of their *prestige* with the juniors being impaired by these regulations. If fagging is to be upheld, it cannot be on the ground that its prohibition would prevent all exercise of Præfectorial authority: it must stand or fall by its own intrinsic merits. Let us consider the *pro* and *con* of the matter.

In the first place, I have no doubt that fagging is of great antiquity. When the school was first instituted, nearly all the servile offices were performed by the junior boys: they swept out the

chambers; they made the beds, under the supervision of the senior boys. They were not required to wait at meals, only because that was the office of the choristers; but otherwise there would have been nothing anomalous or strange in their being required to do so. It was not thought derogatory to youths of greatly higher rank to assist at the toilets, and serve at the tables, and sleep at the chamber-doors of the knights whose service they had entered. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that it was thought unbefitting for the scholars to make the beds, and cleanse out the chambers; and there is no hint that the Visitor's letter, even then, was occasioned by any complaint on their part.

Now our fathers did not allow their sons to be employed after this fashion because they thought less than we do, in this generation, of the privileges of birth and station: on the contrary, the lines of demarcation between the different grades of society were much more strongly drawn than they are in the present day. It was very difficult to sink the youth of noble blood to the level of the *bourgeoisie*; it was still more difficult to raise the peasant to that of the noble. But parents of the highest rank considered it no degradation for their children to perform even the most servile offices, in order that they might learn how to fulfil efficiently the duties of their station. If a youth was to be a successful leader, he must understand the needs and habits of his soldiers; if he was to fill gracefully the position of the head of a great feudal family, he must know by experience what duties to require of each of his dependents. This has been one of the main elements of our social prosperity at home, of our

military success abroad. The princes of our blood-royal, even to the last generation, have been brought up on the same principle. The son of George III., the future king of England, served on board a man-of-war as a simple midshipman, no way distinguished from his messmates as regarded the duties he had to perform.

Regarded in this light, I cannot doubt that "fagging" in public schools is of the utmost benefit to those who have to undergo it; and the benefit is all the greater, in proportion to their rank and circumstances. For those whose lot it has been to be born in the purple, there can be no more wholesome lesson, than to be taught that their rank and riches are mere accidents after all, and that there exists a higher and a truer standard by which they may be judged.

Independently of this consideration, even if it were deemed advisable by universal consent to abolish fagging in great schools, I doubt whether you could succeed in doing it. It is only following out the natural law of the dependence of the weak on the strong. The latter does not compel the services of the former, in most instances; he finds them ready enough to render all, and more than he desires. If Nicetes, who has just got fifty runs in the match with the rival eleven, were to oil his own bat, or toast his own bread at supper, a dozen juniors would offer to do it for him, and strive with one another for the possession of the honour. If Aristus, who has gained a scholarship at the University, which procured for his school-fellows a whole holiday, were to carry up his own jug of hot water to his bedroom, he would be beset by entreaties to be allowed to perform the office for him. Even if the older boy

has no other claim to the services of his school-fellows than his six feet of stature and his breadth of shoulders, these would be sufficient to obtain for him as many voluntary fags as he might desire. If you listen to the talk that goes on among little boys, you would be surprised to find how much of it relates to their seniors; with what pride a junior will boast of his Master's exploits—of how capitally he bowled in the match with some other school eleven; what a grand hit he made for six; how well he declaimed at Commoner speaking; how safe he is to get the Goddard. All these claims to distinction are felt by the fag to be reflected upon himself. Even if the senior's merits consist in nothing more than being unusually "spreely" dressed, or having a longer pocket than any of his contemporaries, they are regarded as something of a feather in the fag's cap. Unless the thing was pushed to a most inordinate length, a little boy would seldom complain of having his play-hour taken up by having to stand behind Felix's wicket and stop Lillywhite's balls, or being set at long-field to catch any hits made in that direction. Of course, if Lillywhite's balls come so sharp that he cannot stop them, and Lillywhite gets into passion and storms at him without measure, or Felix—I use these names as mere *noms de guerre*—or Felix thrashes him savagely when he misses a difficult catch, his pleasure is considerably modified, and probably is turned into lamentation. But it will be the ungraciousness and the brutality which will offend him, not the being obliged to watch out at cricket. Abolish fagging by edict to-morrow, and you would find the juniors, if kindly treated, willing to resume their servitude the day afterwards.

I hold it, therefore, to be alike needless and unwise to attempt to prohibit fagging in public schools. The effect would only be to introduce an unauthorised system, with many attendant disadvantages, in the place of the present authorised one. But, like the Præfectorial system, it needs careful watching. In the first place, care ought to be taken that *unauthorised* fagging does not grow up in the school; it is a very difficult thing to undo when it has once established itself. The practice of allowing "candle-keepers" to fag their fellow-inferiors was one wholly unauthorised by the Warden and Masters; yet it prevailed to such an extent, that the juniors submitted to it as entirely as if it had had the sanction of the school authorities. Nay, though it was more than once positively forbidden, tradition, more potent than the voice of any living officer, prevailed again after a while, and the old practice was revived exactly as it had existed before. In the next place, it is necessary to secure the juniors sufficient time for their meals and their lessons, and a certain amount of play-hours, which shall not be encroached upon. The practice of a Master being present during every meal is sufficient to ensure the first object. School-time, toy-time, and books-chamber-time, will be found very nearly enough to provide for the second. As for the third, it may, of course, be declared unlawful to fag a junior for more than an hour, or at the most two hours, in any day. But there would certainly be a difficulty in enforcing this. The best hope here, too, is in tradition. Nothing is more powerful with men than tradition: nothing is *so* powerful with boys. If it once became a recognised practice in the school not to fag juniors at cricket for more than a certain time every day,

the seniors would very soon lose all disposition to break the rule.

I believe a good deal of what has here been suggested has been already carried out at Winchester; and that there is, in consequence, as little unhappiness among the juniors in the present generation, as in any public school in England.

CHAPTER XXII.

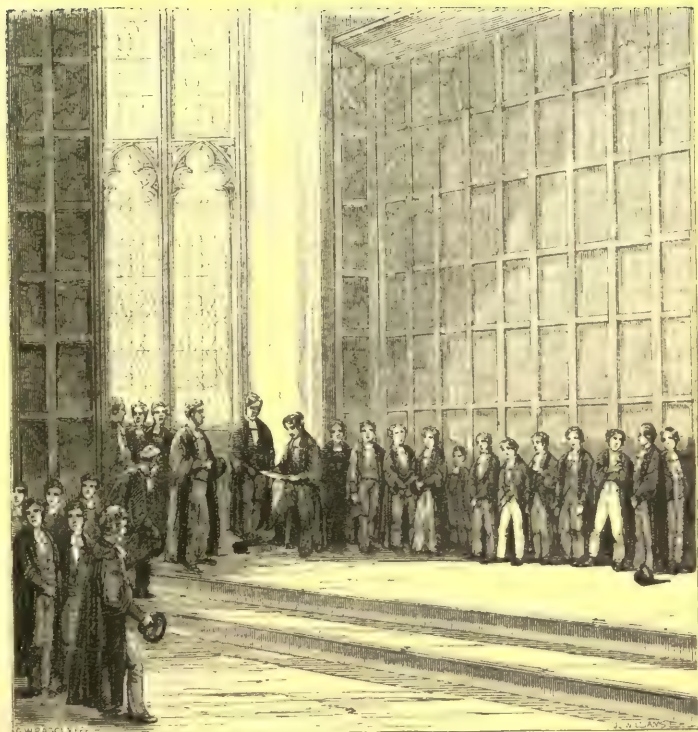
CUSTOMS.—PEALING, TICKETS, DOMUM.

THE customs prevailing among Wykehamists were, many of them, very strange and curious ; and all the more so, because in most instances it is very difficult to trace out, or even conjecture, their origin. Chief among these was the practice (I say “was,” because it has long been a thing of the past),—the practice of “Cloister Pealing.”

The reader has been already informed that, in early times, a little before the beginning of May, the boys ceased to do their lessons in Seventh Chamber, and adjourned for the summer months to the college cloisters. At this period, it was usual to combine two of the junior classes in one. From this conjunction being always made at this time of the year, the double class so formed was called “Cloisters,” and the summer months “Cloister-time.”

The commencement of this season seems, for some reason, to have been a time of licence. It was the practice, even in my time, for the boys in Senior Part, and those in Cloisters, to have a kind of mock fight for the first few days of the new order of things—the tradition, apparently, of some old encounter of a more serious kind. It was also then the custom for the boys “in Cloisters” to “peal” the Præfects,—to assail them, that is to say, with a series of satirical epigrammatic sentences, delivered something after the fashion of a chant, or a peal of bells^a. Each

^a This is, I believe, the customary explanation of the term. I am myself inclined to believe the derivation to have been



Grace place.—Domum being sung.

sentence was repeated three times, and prefaced by "once, twice, thrice." These brief effusions were of the most uncompromising description, sparing neither the personal appearance, nor the moral character, nor the past history of the person lampooned. If any Præfect was conspicuous (say) for a fiery head of hair, or an unlucky squint, or a pair of bandy legs, he was reminded of the circumstance in the plainest possible terms. If he enjoyed the reputation of a screw, or a braggart, or a blockhead, the general opinion found expression accordingly. If at any period of his school-life he had said or done anything pre-eminently foolish, it was safe to crop up again on these occasions. The tenth part of the impertinence displayed would, at other times, have brought down the direst penalties on the offenders. In Wykehamical phrase, the Præfect so affronted, would then and there have "broken their necks." But, at the recurrence of this season, the juniors were allowed to say what they pleased, and with entire impunity.

The manner of it was as follows. At the beginning of school-time, before the Master came in, there was generally an interval of ten minutes, or a quarter-of-an-hour. The boys belonging to Cloisters assembled "up at books," the Commoner Course-keeper occupying the Master's chair, as the Coryphæus of the assembly. The Præfects, who knew what was coming, mustered thick on the steps round the fireplace, prepared to brave the ordeal with what philosophy they might. When all was ready, the Course-keeper gave out a peal, which was passed down the rows, and then the boys repeated it aloud.

"an *appeal*,"—a personal challenge or address to the several parties assailed.

Let us picture to ourselves one of these occasions. See that tall Præfect on the top step, by name Johnson. He has the repute of being extremely quarrelsome with his equals, and of continually complaining of the juniors, who do not love him. Johnson knows the fact, and surmises that they are likely to take him in hand first. He is not mistaken. Here comes the "peal,"—

"Once, twice, thrice,
Johnson's never-ceasing tongue,
Jaw, Jaw, Jaw !"

Johnson "grins horribly a ghastly smile," intended to express disdain, but it is hardly successful. I should not like to ask Johnson for any favour for the next quarter-of-an-hour to come; and doubt whether I should obtain it, if I did.

Next to Johnson stands Smith, a somewhat loutish-looking youth, reputed to be of Russian extraction, and not remarkable for cleanliness of person. These peculiarities do not pass unnoticed. From the youthful censors at the east end of the school comes the "peal,"—

"Once, twice, thrice,
Russian bear with dirty paws !"

Smith looks carelessly round him, affecting total ignorance as to who the "Russian bear" may be; but, nevertheless, thrusts his hands deep into the pockets of his trousers, aware that they would become the objects of general curiosity, which it would be scarcely judicious on his part to indulge. Hard by is a third, Thompson, who is well-known to consider himself, out-and-out, the best bat in the school; but who was unfortunate enough to be bowled, and caught out, with

two "cricket-balls" to his name, at Lord's in the previous year. There is a shaft on the string ready for him also,—

"Once, twice, thrice,
Thompson's score in Harrow match!"

Thompson tries to join in the general laugh, but burns inwardly with a two-fold wrath at the "cheek" of the juniors, and the bad taste of his co-equals, in being amused at such stupid impudence!

The reader must not suppose that *all* "peals" were uncomplimentary. Now and then a Præfect who was pre-eminent in school-games, or manly qualities, or was popular for his good temper and kindness, would receive an ovation from the juniors, when his turn came. I remember how William Heathcote, and John Garnier, and Charles Sweet,—all of them long since passed away from human praise or censure,—I remember how they and others were greeted with the heartiest applause of Cloisters, and heard nothing of themselves but good; but these were rare exceptions. A junior boy at a public school is little given to praise his seniors, or, indeed, to praise his school-fellows at all. And when he has but one opportunity in the whole year of expressing his mind respecting them, it would not be human nature, if his remarks were not in general decidedly sarcastic.

The custom was, I believe, interdicted some forty years ago, and I do not learn that it has ever been revived. There was great difference of opinion respecting it. On the one hand, it gave vent to secret spleen, which, of course, had better have been suppressed. A junior who hated his boy-master, was apt to look forward to "Cloister-pealing" as to a time when he might "pay him out." A Præfect,

again, though he might not take open notice of any satire which had stung him to the quick, might nevertheless surmise accurately enough who had been its author, and "spite" him for it. There was also sometimes no small amount of coarseness and ribaldry in these "peals," the occasion being one when the worst elements of boy-life were apt to come to the surface.

On the other side, the practice had its good features also. A boy learned, in this rough-and-ready manner, truths of which he might have remained ignorant to the last day of his school-life, but which it was every way desirable for him to know. Burns's wish,—

"Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!"

was fulfilled in these "peals," as it rarely is in everyday life; for boys are among the most just and the most free-spoken of critics. The fear of having their evil deeds denounced by that keen-sighted and incorruptible tribunal, restrained many a bully, whom nothing else in all likelihood would have influenced. No doubt the thing required careful watching, but I doubt whether it was wise, summarily to put it down.

Its origin and antiquity are extremely difficult questions. It is curious to note, that wherever arbitrary power is habitually exercised, some practice of this kind appears to prevail also; the shadow, as it were, which absolutism throws. The Roman legionaries would, at certain seasons, chant their satirical verses on their Emperor with complete impunity. The Romish Church, when at the height of its unrestrained power, would permit, nay encourage, burlesques of its most solemn services, and highest

officials. It was a relief to both parties to lay aside for a time the severe rule of every-day life. At Eton, where the government of the senior boys has always been milder, there does not seem to have existed any custom of the kind; unless the celebration of the "Boy bishop," which was kept up to a comparatively recent date, may be so considered. But at Westminster, even I believe to the present day, it is usual to have, late in the spring of every year, what are called "Declamations." The juniors recite satirical verses upon the outgoing seniors, composed by themselves, or with the help of friends, in which the utmost licence of criticism is permitted, without provoking any retribution from those so assailed.

Further, on one particular day in the year, these nicknames were, and still may be, personally addressed to the head-boys, much after the fashion described as existing at Winchester. It is the practice in College, for one of the juniors to go round every evening to the seniors of the year, and inquire of each whether the servant (called College John) may be allowed to leave for the night. "Smith," or "Robinson," or "Jones," &c., may John go out?" But on this evening the junior would put the question, with some addition of his own, in general far from complimentary: "Smith, with the bottle-nose, may John go out?" "Robinson, who lost us the race with the Eton, may John go out?" "Jones, who was thrashed by a cabman, may John go out?" And neither Smith, Jones, nor Robinson, visited the offender with any punishment, though on other occasions the smallest atom of such "cheekiness" would have brought down summary vengeance on the offender. The custom, so far as concerns West-

minster, is believed to be very ancient, though its origin is unknown; and I am inclined to believe the same to be the case at Winchester also^b.

Besides the "Cloister pealing," which was a matter affecting the whole school, there was another kind of pealing peculiar to Commoners. On the last three Fridays of the half-year, as soon as the Tutor had left the hall after breakfast, the boys, instead of rushing tumultuously after him, remained in their places. Then some boy, who had incurred the displeasure of his school-fellows by "spreeness," or bad temper, or some unpopular action, was compelled to mount on to the top of the "toys," at the lower end of the hall, a conspicuous mark to all present. Then a traditional "peal" was chanted:—

"Once, twice, thrice,
Locks and Keys."

This ended, the victim was pelted for a minute or two with "pontos," until he had "dree'd his weird," when he was permitted to scramble down and make his escape, more hurt generally in mind than in body^c.

On the following Friday, and the Friday succeeding that, two more victims were chosen, and the

^b As at Winchester, so here also, these witticisms were not always hostile. It is related of Archbishop Longley, whose amiable qualities had endeared him to his school-fellows in no ordinary degree, that when it came to his turn to undergo this ordeal, the pellets wherewith he was pelted were very roses and violets. "Longley, rose among thorns, may John go out?" "Longley, best of good fellows, may John go out?" &c.

^c The reasons why boys were chosen to be stuck up after this fashion, like cocks at Martinmas, were sometimes highly original. I have known a boy so elevated, because it was currently reported in the school that he could write Greek verse!

proceedings were the same, excepting that the peal on the second occasion was "Boots and leathers;" and on the third "Gomer hats." "Senior mess," that is the first six of the twelve Præfects, selected the unlucky wight who was to run the gauntlet on the first of these occasions, "Junior mess" chose the victim on the second, and Course-keeper on the third, Friday.

On the last three Sundays a similar custom prevailed; but there were no boys put up to be pelted, and the pealing took place after dinner, instead of after breakfast. As soon as the door had closed behind the Tutor in course, the boys delivered themselves of their "peal." This, on the first of the three Sundays, was "Party rolls;" on the second, "Money and direction rolls;" and on the last "Packing up." All these six peals had evident reference to going home. The three last-named explain themselves. Before the days of railways, it was the practice to engage coaches, post-chaises, &c., and bring them down to College-street, to convey the boys away on the breaking-up day^d. A stirring scene it was too, that bright July morning; the street completely crowded with vehicles of all kinds, from the one-horse gig to the lordly drag; the piles of luggage; the din and bustle of innumerable porters; the snorting and stamping of the horses; the cheery notes of the guards' horns; the fresh faces of the boys exchanging joyous farewells—this is one of the gladdest

^d Collier's coach was the one usually chosen to convey the small boys to London, it being reputed safer than the others. It was always loaded and despatched first. Hence the first note of departure was the cry of "Collier's up," "Collier's up." How those words rang through the old building in the bright dawn of the July morning. What old Wykehamist can ever forget them!

retrospects of a Wykehamist's schoolboy-days—one, alas, which the inexorable Iron Horse has carried away for ever.

"Party rolls," "Money and direction rolls," and "Packing up," require no explanation, and relate to the present day, as much as to any other. But the three first-named have a smack of antiquity in them. "Locks and keys" belongs to times before carpet-bags and portmanteaus, when mayhap even mail coaches were rare; when boxes had to be sent by carriers' carts, or by any chance conveyance that might be found to take them—when if boxes were not locked, there would be a reasonable chance of half their contents having disappeared before they reached their destination. Of course the boys had lost the keys of their boxes before the end of the half-year, and the loss had to be repaired, in anticipation of their departure. Then again, "Boots and leathers,"—this clearly relates to a period when the boys *rode* home—the days of "Heus! Rogere, fer caballos," of the Domum song, of which anon. This peal was probably as old as Commoners itself. The only thing that puzzles us is, that these peals should not have been used in College, as well as in Commoners. "Gomer" (i.e. Go-home-r) hats does not require much comment; the hat wherewith a boy began the half-year had in general ceased to be presentable at home, long before its close.

There was another practice peculiar, I believe, to Winchester, and certainly a remarkable one. We have seen that the juniors frequently incurred the wrath of the Præfects, sometimes for a breach of school-discipline, such as going out of bounds, making a disturbance in chambers, &c.; and sometimes for impertinence, or neglect of orders. But

junior might also merit a Præfect's gratitude, by rendering him some service, which was out of the routine of his duty. Suppose a Præfect had lost his watch, and a junior, unasked, found it; suppose, when he was engaged in some unlawful occupation, a junior rushed up and warned him, just in time, that the Doctor was close at hand. The usual mode of rewarding a work of supererogation like this, was by saying, "Take a ticket;" and the next time that the junior offended, and was about to receive condign punishment, he would plead his "ticket," and escape unscathed. I remember on one occasion when a lot of junior part boys were going to receive severe tundings, for having purloined and bottled a quantity of beer, one of them pleaded a "ticket" he had received from the Præfect who was about to operate upon him. The plea was admitted, and he escaped the terrible ground-ash.

How old this custom may be, or what may have been its origin, seem to be things quite unknown. It is certainly as old as the last century. Dr. Gabell, when a Master, was heard by one of his pupils, now living, to grant a boy "a ticket." Clearly, then, the custom was familiar to him from his own schoolboy-days. This carries us back to Dr. Warton's Head-mastership, and how much further it may go no one can say; but it was as complete an "indulgence" to commit sin as ever was sold by Tetzel, or denounced by Luther—a plenary indulgence, in fact,—for the offence that might be committed with impunity was not defined. Whatever a boy might do amiss was condoned. It was before the days of the Ritualists, or even the Tractarians, and the "Record" and "Rock" as yet were not. Otherwise the popish tendencies of Winchester School, as evidenced by

this custom, might have formed the subject of a leading article in one of those papers.

While speaking of Winchester customs, we must not omit to notice the curious habit prevailing among the boys, of calling people by any name rather than their own. If a youth was called "Sam," his baptismal name might be John, but not Samuel; if he went by the appellative of "Bill," it might be George, but hardly William. This was in a great measure caused by the transmission of names from one brother to another. In a series of brethren, say the first was familiarly known as "Tom Smith," his real name being Thomas; then there would come a younger brother, whose baptismal appellative was Henry. He would not be "Harry Smith," but "young Tom Smith," at first, and afterwards, "Tom Smith." The same with any nickname. Suppose any lad to have been called "Chinner," for instance, signifying that he had a laughing look in his face; if another in the same family came, let him be ever so lugubrious of aspect, he would certainly be called "Chinner" too; or if the first of a family had been an unusual blockhead, and had acquired the *sobriquet* of "Jackass," all the rest of the same stock would inevitably be styled "Jackass" also, let them be as wise as Solons.

Still more was this the case with the college-servants and tradesmen, not one of whom, so far as I know, ever went by his real name. The College carpenter was called "Downer," but his true name was "Stubington;" the Commoner carpenter was styled "Crutch," but he was really "Lee;" the tailor was "Hyde," inside the Commoners, but "Wells" outside it; the Hall-man was "Whitesman;" the bell-ringer, "Diddums;" the locksmith, "Dungy;"

the College mason, "Long-John;" the old man who lighted the fires, "Purver;" the under-porter, "Obadiah;" and so on, through a long string of others, not one of whom went by his proper title; and whose real names were probably not known to one boy in ten.

One more custom, belonging exclusively to Winchester, must be mentioned before we conclude—one which a Wykehamist always regards with the most affectionate reverence—and that is the singing of *Domum* on the last six Saturdays of the summer half-year. Just before evening Hills, the College-boys assemble in the Hall; the Grace-singers, and such as have good voices, take the lead, the others stand by and join in. The Commoners, with the exception of the Praefects, are not allowed to enter the Hall, but stand at the entrance and look on. *Domum* is (or rather was) sung again on the last day of election-week, usually aided on that occasion by bands of music; it was sung several times—in Hall, in Court, and in Meads. On this day, great numbers of old Wykehamists, who had come down to attend the election, were usually present, together with the friends and relatives of the boys, the Masters and their families, visitors from the town, &c. It was sung once more, and for the last time, at the close of the *Domum* ball, held until quite lately at St. John's House.

The origin of this celebrated song is involved in obscurity. If you ask any old Wykehamist about it, he will in all likelihood tell you, that nothing has been preserved respecting its history, except what is evidently vague and false tradition. This, however, rather overstates the matter; and Wykehamists

may be interested in learning exactly what is known of the subject.

There is, I believe, a letter in existence which speaks of its being the regular practice to sing it, somewhere about the middle of the last century ; but the first printed notice I have been able to find respecting it, is in an anonymous "History and Antiquities of Winchester," published in 1773. In that the following paragraph occurs : "According to an *old* tradition, a child belonging to the school, for committing some uncommon and atrocious offence, was confined to the college during the holidays, and denied the enjoyment of relief from study, with the rest of the young gentlemen ; which lay so heavy on his mind, that after composing the following verses, he is said to have pined and died. How true this may be, we do not pretend to say."

We note here that the tradition is reported as being an *old* one more than a hundred years ago. Its antiquity is further marked by the use of the word "child," always employed in earlier times to denote the Scholars, as distinguished from the Commoners and Choristers ; of which usage the terms, "Warden's Child," "Sub-warden's Child," &c., still survive as evidences. It was in familiar use in Ken's time (to which, as we shall presently see, "*Domum*" is probably to be referred) ; he always uses it in the sense above mentioned in his Manual of Prayers. I doubt whether the word so applied was in common use in Dr. Warton's time ; at all events, I have found no trace of it. It should also be observed, that the writer considers the story of the boy's having pined and died as doubtful.

The next mention occurs in the "Gentleman's

Magazine" for 1796. In the March of that year, a correspondent inquires whether anybody can give him the words of an old breaking-up song, called "Dulce Domum." Another writer replies to this letter shortly afterwards, giving the words of the song. He further states, that it was composed by a boy who had been chained to a pillar, *or tree*, during the holidays, while the other boys went home; that he pined away in consequence, and, after leaving the words of the song on the tree, died of a broken heart on the day of the return of the boys to school. The writer adds (and this seems never to have been disputed), that the tune to which "Dulce Domum" is set was composed by John Reading, in the reign of Charles II. "Further," he proceeds, "in commemoration of this sad occurrence, the boys, headed by their Masters, and accompanied by the organist and choristers, were wont to walk in procession three times round the tree (or pillar), singing the song in question." This statement is borne out by the fact, that until late in the last century, the procession in question did make the circuit of the "Domum" tree, singing as they did so.

Later in the same year (1796), another writer demurs to the story of the pining away and dying, as inconsistent with the jubilant tone of the song. He mentions another concurrent tradition, that it was composed by a boy, who had indeed been detained at school during the vacation, but who wrote it in anticipation of the delights of the ensuing summer holidays, from which he had been debarred for a whole twelvemonth.

Milner, in his "Memorials of Winchester," published in 1798, says, "the existence of the song can be *traced* to the distance of about a century;" "yet

the real author of it," adds Milner, "and the occasion of its composition, are already clouded by fable!" Other writers coincide in this statement.

Notwithstanding the inconsistencies and contradictions of these reports, it is not difficult to trace the outline of an intelligible and reasonable story. First, as regards the date. General report, *nemine contradicente*, apparently assigns the composition of the tune to John Reading. The latter was born in the latter half of the seventeenth century. He was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. Blow, and Lay-Vicar and Master of the Choristers in Lincoln Cathedral. He was at the height of his reputation in the reign of William III., when he published a collection of anthems of his own composition. He died early in the reign of George I.

It does not appear that he ever had any connection with Winchester College, and is therefore not likely to have set the words of "Dulce Domum" to a tune. It is more probable that the youthful poet adapted his words to an air which had become popular, as, indeed, we may believe such a tune as that of "Dulce Domum" *would* become.

If this be so, the date of the verses would be somewhere about the last quarter of the seventeenth century; and with this accord the statements of Milner and others, as to its having been in their time about one hundred years old.

Again, as regards the circumstances under which it was written. All agree that it was composed by a boy who was kept at school during the holidays. But some say he was chained to a pillar; others to a (the Domum) tree; some that he pined away, and died on the day of the return of his school-fellows; some that he wrote it during their absence, but as

looking forward to the joys of the next vacation; some that he carved it on the tree, and some on the pillar.

He could not possibly have been chained to the Domum tree. That stood in the same spot as its successor, a quarter-of-a-mile out of Winchester, by the river side. Who could believe that any boy would be chained to that? But it is not unlikely that on the breaking-up morning he was secured to a pillar—one of the “*quatuor ilicea fulcra*,” perhaps, of the old Seventh-chamber School^e, of which Johnson tells us. This would be the simplest mode of preventing his departure, and a very likely one to be adopted in those days.

Again, he could not have carved the Domum verses on the pillar, but he might have done so on the Domum tree. It is more likely, however, that he passed much of his time sitting under this tree, and that he there wrote his verses. This would be quite enough to connect the tree in people’s minds with the song. Then, on the return of the other boys, the beauty of the composition, and its suitability to a favourite tune, induced them to sing it on the eve of breaking-up. In those days processions of the whole Wykehamical body, singing hymns, were a common practice, of which the singing of “*Jam lucis orto sidere*”^f still remains as an evidence. The practice, once established, would go on, and posterity would be naturally interested in the history of its composition. The circumstances of the boy’s solitary life and depression during his

^e If so, this would throw the date of the song^g back to some period previous to 1689; but he may have been secured to one of the pillars in the chambers.

^f See Appendix.

school-fellows' absence, would, of course, form a prominent feature in such a narrative. In every generation these would be amplified; until, in time, the gradual pining away, the death from a broken-heart, and, finally, the coincidence of this with the morning of the return of his school-fellows, would be added^g.

I do not know that there is very much in the argument of the writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine"—that the joyful tone of the song throughout is irreconcilable with the mournful legend which is generally accepted. It is difficult to gather the tone of an author's mind from his compositions. Cowper composed the facetious ballad of "John Gilpin" during one of his gloomiest periods of depression; and "Robinson Crusoe," with its fresh and vigorous life, was the work of De Foe when broken down by years and misfortunes. But there is a difference between these cases and that of the author of "Dulce Domum." Cowper and De Foe did not write of their own especial circumstances, but of matters lying wholly without their own personal experience. It certainly would be a most strange anomaly, if the exulting delight which runs through "Dulce Domum," had been imagined by any one who was at the time actually pining to death of melancholy.

I am afraid this view will have too much of conjecture in it to satisfy some of my readers, and too little

^g There was a similar myth in circulation in my time as to the death of Bingham, Præfect of Hall, who was drowned A.D. 1780. It was said that his death was caused by his having attempted to dive through one of the hatches in "Pot." A junior was set to hold the hatch-gate up while he went through, and the boy, lowering it too soon, caught him by the foot. But this was embellishment; Bingham was simply seized with cramp.

of the romantic to please others ; yet the latter, at least, may feel assured, that if the current legend had indeed reported the truth, some trustworthy record of so remarkable a fact would surely have been preserved—some memorandum in the college books—some monument, tombstone, or similar memorial.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WYKEHAMICAL SLANG.

THE language in which boys at Winchester are wont to converse with one another, is a difficult one for outsiders to understand. I remember a worthy friend of mine paying a visit, in company with his wife, to Winchester, and inviting some boys to lunch with him at the "George." He was unable to be present at the meal, and questioned Mrs.—— how she had got on with her guests. "Oh, very well," she replied, "only I couldn't understand at least half of what they said." "Do you remember any of their sayings?" he asked. "Well, I do remember one speech," she answered. "They told me that young S—— couldn't come. He had been *shuffling continent*; and he and others been *furked abroad*, for *shirking* out. The whole *pitch up* had had their *names ordered*; but as to-day was a *remedy*, they wouldn't be *bibled* till to-morrow!"

The above information, I have no doubt, was given perfectly *bonâ fide*, with no intention of mystifying the lady; and it was a fair specimen of their ordinary talk. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability, to collect, in the following Glossary, such words and phrases as they are in the habit of using: I have also made some attempt to ascertain their origin and derivation. But no language is so liable to continual flux and change as schoolboy slang. I shall not be at all surprised if a great many of the words included in it have become obsolete, and if many, now in use, should be found

to have no place there. A compiler, in such a matter, can only hope to be approximately correct.

Abroad. A boy, when on the sick list, was said to be "continent" (i.e. "continens cameram, vel lectum," *keeping* his room or bed). When he recovered, he was permitted to go *foris*, "out of doors" again, or according to the ordinary rendering of *foris*, "abroad." The use of this term shews the antiquity of the school, dating as it does from the times of the "patrium sermonem fugito, Latine loquitor," of the Tabula legum.

Abs. Simply the abbreviation of "absent," written against a defaulter's name. Abs (more recently) is used with a verb, "get abs," i.e. "get away."

Adam and Eve. The name of a favourite bathing-place in the water-meadows near St. Cross: it was tolerably deep, and free from weeds: it was much frequented by seniors at evening Hills: its derivation is sufficiently obvious.

Ad Portas. The oration delivered by the Præfect of Hall on the Tuesday in election-week, when the Warden of New College, and the two Posers arrived from Oxford, (see Chap. iii. p. 50). It was spoken under Middle-gate.

Amen Chapel. The name given to the service on the days of Founder's commemoration, so-called because of the harmonising of the "Amen" at the end of the various prayers on that occasion.

Amen Corner. The furthestmost point of College meads to the south, where there is a slight angle in the wall. Various explanations have been suggested of this name. Some have thought that when the whole collegiate body made the round of the College, singing prayers and hymns, as it was their

practice to do every day—this corner was the spot at which the final Amen was sung. But this portion of Meads in those early times was a mere pasture, and it is highly improbable that processions could have been made round it. Again, it has been suggested that in beating the bounds of the adjoining parish, they ended at this point. But it is more likely that it simply means that this angle was the end of the College land. So “Amen Corner” in the city was so-called, because it was the *end* of Paternoster-row. The old inscription on the wall at this point, “In occidentali parte hujus muri solum Collegii extendit,” somewhat supports this view.

Apple-pie day, the name given to the Thursday in sealing-week, when there were apple-pies for dinner in College. On this day Six-and-Six was usually played. It was the first Thursday after the first Tuesday in December.

Back up. To vent any opinion, or retort energetically—generally in support of one’s friend or party.

Baker. Anything comfortable to sit on, (from the presumed comfortable warmth of a bake-house).

Bangies, trowsers of the colour of brown sugar.

Bangy, brown sugar, (from Bangalore, a coarse sugar-growing country).

Bangy Gate, a gate formerly leading into Sick-house Meads, now into King’s Gate-street, sometimes called “Commoner Gate.”

Barter, a half-volley at cricket, (see Chap. xviii. p. 328).

Battlings (*batella*), the charges made for the weekly allowances served out for bread, butter, cheese, &c. in Colleges,—applied at Winchester to the weekly allowance of money (one shilling) made to each boy.

Beestwaxers, heavy boots.

Beever, an allowance of beer served out in the afternoons, during Cloister-time, (see Chap. xv. p. 277). Obviously from the Italian *bevere*, whence our "beverage."

Beever-time, the time when the beer was served out; viz. from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ in afternoon school.

Bibler, the severer kind of flogging, six cuts being substituted for the ordinary four. It was so-called because on those occasions the offender was "taken up" by the Bible-clerk and Ostiarius, instead of the usual College juniors.

Bill Brighters, small faggots, so-called from one Bill Bright, who had charge of them.

Blow, "shew embarrassment," either by blushing, as a rose "blows;" or from the resemblance to a whale, when distressed.

Bob, a white jug, probably from its price, one shilling.

Boner, a smart rap on the spine.

Books, the three rows at either end of the school, on which the boys sat when up to lessons, possibly so-called because they contained lockers, in which the books were kept. Also the prizes given in each part to the two seniors in Classicus paper in the lower forms, and to the two chosen by the Doctor in Sixth Book and Senior Part, were so-called.

Books-chambers, a particular time on remedies, when the College-boys had to sit in school, under the charge of the Præfects; and Commoners in their hall, under the superintendence of one of the tutors. The name shews the arrangement to be older than the building of the great school.

Bread-pickers. Each of the four senior Commoner Præfects could make a junior his "bread-picker," and so excuse him altogether from fagging. The

custom obviously relates to times when the juniors had to *secure* the bread, &c., served out for their masters.

Brock, "to badger, tease." Brock is the north-country name for a badger.

Brum, "penniless," doubtless from *bruma*, "mid-winter," denoting the extremity of bareness in a boy's pocket.

Bulky, "good-natured," "liberal," from *amplitudo*, sometimes used by Latin writers in this sense.

Candle-keeper, the name given to the seven Inferiors who had been longest in college. They were exempt from fagging, and were further allowed a valet and breakfast-fag. The senior Candle-keeper had the further right of fagging the twenty juniors. These privileges, however, were only of the boys' devising; the college did not recognise them. Their name was given them probably because they sat at the ends as the seniors of the messes, so that the candle assigned during the dark months to each end, was in their charge.

Candlestick. Merely a facetious version of "candidate."

Cargo, a hamper of good things from home.

Cat's-head, the end of a shoulder of mutton.

Chamber-day, a day when the College-boys were allowed access to chambers all day.

Chinner, "a grin," (*cachinnus*).

Chisel, "to cheat." I am inclined to refer this phrase to one Crutch, a carpenter, who mended the boys' bats, and who was called popularly "Chiseller Crutch." He had the name of over-charging.

Chouse, "a shame," "a scandal." Here the word has been Wykehamically diverted from its original meaning, viz. "to cheat."

Circum, go circum, ancient Wykehamical phrases, often found in the earlier records of the college. For some time subsequently to the foundation, it is believed to have been the practice of the whole Wykehamical body to make the tour of the college every evening, singing hymns and chanting prayers. Subsequently, and arising in all likelihood out of this, a custom prevailed—which was in use during the seventeenth, and, it is believed, to the end of the eighteenth century—for the boys to repair, about five in the afternoon, to a bench in the ambulatory, under the wall now occupied by the Crimean Memorial, and kneeling down at this, say their private prayers. This was still called “going circum,” but obviously it cannot have been the original practice.

Classicus, the junior in each part; his functions were, to get the themes for the exercises, &c., set, to give in the list of names of those absent from lesson, and also to keep the

Classicus paper, the list of boys in each Part, arranged in their form order anew every week. At each lesson the boys were marked, the junior receiving one mark, the next above him two, &c., up to the senior. At the end of every half-year the numbers were summed up, and the result determined not only the prizes, but the school-order for the next half-year. The *Classicus paper*, formerly, did not ascend beyond Middle Part; above that there was no change of places^a. More recently the *Classicus paper* has been introduced into Senior Part. It is said to have been Dr. Gabell’s invention.

^a Except at Senior Part Examination, an institution introduced by Dr. Moberly. It took place at the beginning of each half-year, and considerable changes in the order were sometimes made.

Cloisters, the combination of Middle Part V. and Junior Part V. into one class, during the last ten weeks of the long half-year. This was called

Cloister-time, a name originally given to this portion of the year, because during May, June and July, in the early centuries of the school, the lessons were said in the College cloisters.

Clo, a box on the ear, (contracted probably from "clout").

Commoners' speaking, the day of public recitation, usually early in May, when those among the Præfects who had composed the best Easter-tasks, and those among the Inferiors who had acquitted themselves best at the six recitations during Easter-time, were chosen to deliver speeches and tasks in the presence of visitors.

Con, a smart rap on the crown of the head, administered generally with the knuckles, (whence the derivation, *κόνδυλον*, "a knuckle"). Sometimes the con was inflicted with other instruments, as the edge of a roll, the cover of a book, &c.

Continent, see "abroad."

Course, the time of holding office; this came by rotation. Thus the offices of "Bible-clerk," and "Ostiarus," were taken by the ten Senior College Præfects in succession: the Præfects of Chapel were "in course" in alternate weeks. The Commoner Præfects held office, three in each week. See Honour's Course.

Course-keeper, an inferior in Commoners (not higher in the school than Middle Part V.), appointed by the Præfects as their deputy to superintend the fags. He arranged the breakfast, kicking-in, and cricket-fagging; he also made out the foot-ball lists, &c. In requital of these services, he was

allowed to fag juniors. This, like the privileges of the Candle-keepers in College, was not recognised by the school authorities.

Crippled, (or "cropped,") found unable to do the lesson.

Crocketts, a facetious version of "cricket."

Cud, "nice, pleasant," (probably a metaphor from a cow chewing the cud, or possibly, "couth," "couthly").

Cuse, the same as the *Classicus* paper. Simply the last syllable of *classicus*, humorously pronounced.

Cut for grub, a practice, I believe, peculiar to Wykehamists. Two boys would fix on some book (generally a *Virgil*), and on some particular line on the right or left-hand page. The first opened the book hap-hazard, and looked at the initial letter of the line chosen. Say it was a G. Then the other similarly opened the book, and noticed the initial letter on his page. If it was any letter before G, in the alphabet, he won; if any after it, he lost. The loser had to pay for whatever amount of eatables had been wagered, and the winner usually went to "gate" to fetch it.

Dalmatia, another bathing-place in water-meads, near Waterman's Hut, shallower than "Adam and Eve," and more affected by juniors.

Deputy, the boy in College who had been longest there, next to the Candle-keepers. He helped the senior Candle-keeper in looking up the Fags, (see Chap. xv. p. 279).

Dispar, a help of meat, said to be derived from *dispar*, "unequal," because of the disproportionate size of the portions served out to the seniors and juniors severally. But more probably *disper*, from *dispertio*, "to divide."

Ditto blues, a suit of clothes all of blue cloth.

Dock, "to tear out" (leaves from a book).

Dole, "stratagem," (th. *dolus*, "a trick").

Dolifier, "one who contrives a trick."

Domum, the summons to return "home" from Hills.

This was originally given by the Præfect of Hall himself, (*comp.* Christopher Johnson, p. 86). In more modern times the three juniors in College made the tour of the trench, or walked across the crest of St. Catherine's, shouting "Domum." (For the song so named, see Appendix to Chap. xxii.)

Duck, expression of face, from the old metaphor of a dying duck turning up its eyes in a thunder-storm.

Easter-task, a poem in Latin or English, composed voluntarily by any Præfect who chose to do so, and spoken at the Easter recitations, which took place in

Easter-time, six weeks in every year, commencing a little after the middle of March, and lasting till the end of April, so that Holy Week was sure to fall within it. All the boys above Fourth Book recited some passage of poetry, in one or other of the six divisions under which they were arranged. The best performers in each week were chosen to recite at Commoners' speaking, *q.v.*

Egg-flip night. The night of apple-pie day, when the beverage in question was provided.

End. The Inferiors in College were divided into six messes of seven each, sitting at different tables; three sat on each side, and the Candle-keeper at the end; but the entire mess had come in time to be called the end.

Ex Course-keeper. When the Course-keeper got into Senior Part, he ceased to exercise his office, and a new Course-keeper was appointed. But

his privilege of fagging juniors was continued to him under the title of Ex Course-keeper.

Extrumps, a facetious version of "extempore." When a boy went on to construe, who had not learned his lesson, he was said to go on "extrumps."

Fardels. The three classes into which Sixth Book was divided at the end of the long half-year, with a view to the approaching examination of the Senior College-boys in Election-Chamber.

Fat flab, a cut off the fat part of a breast of mutton.

Finge. When anything unpleasant had to be done, every boy would cry out "finge I," that is, "I beg to decline doing it." The one who spoke last was expected to undertake it. (I imagine this to be the Latin rendering of "feign," or "feign-play.")

Flyer, a foot-ball caught on the instep of one of the players, and kicked up again, before touching the ground.

Founder's Comm., i.e. commemoration. Four days in the year, set apart for observing the memory of the Founder, were so called, (see Chap. xvii. p. 319.)

Founder's ob., the day of the commemoration of the Founder's obit, or death.

Fragment, an entertainment given by the Warden, or one of the Fellows, to a certain number of the College-boys, the entertainer not being present.

Frampton's Hatch, a red brick hatch between Tunbridge and Pot.

Frou, or *frowt*, "angry," "vexed," (contracted from froward, or frowart).

Functure, or *Function*, the night-light burned in the chambers.

"Still in their lamplit chambers."

Palmer's verses, (see Scheme).

Furk, "turn out," "expel," (I imagine from *furca*, the instrument employed in the ejection, "*Naturam expellas furcâ.*" Horace.) Also (more recently), identical with "fork out," or "pay up."

Gags, the abbreviation of "gatherings;" an exercise said to have been invented by Dr. Gabell, consisting of Latin criticisms on some poem of celebrity, written in a book, and sent in about once in every month. In the Parts below Sixth Book and Senior Part, the gatherings consisted of an analysis of some history, &c.

Gated, confined within the college gates.

Gater, a leap over the lock-gate into "Pot," when bathing.

Genuine, "praise." The adjective "immense" was prescriptively attached to this word, as "he got immense genuine for his voluntary from the Doctor," &c., (doubtless from *genuina*, the "jaw-tooth;" the praise being elegantly regarded as "jaw").

Gomer, (i.e. Go-home-r), generally a new hat, but applied occasionally to other words. "Gomer hats" was one of the Commoner Peals, (see Chap. xxii. p. 404.)

Gown, coarse brown paper.

Gowner. At the foot-ball games in College, the "Goal" stood with outstretched legs, between two gowns rolled up at his feet. When the ball was kicked by the opposing party over one of these gowns, the goal failing to touch it in passing, it was called "a gowner," and two were scored for it.

Grub, "eatables." I apprehend from the metaphor of grubs devouring leaves, which appears to be

the main employment of their existence. This word, however, is hardly peculiar to Winchester.

Haves, i.e. "halves." The College name for half-boots.

Higlotes, strong foot-ball shoes.

Hiss, the notice given by the junior, set to watch for the approach of the Masters at the beginning of school-time.

Hollis, "a pebble," said to be so-called from a boy of that name, much given to throwing them. (But so far as my observation extends, boys are so universally given to this practice, that it is difficult to believe any boy could have been specially distinguished for his addiction to it.)

Honour's Course. Three Commoner Præfects were "in course" every week, having to call names, report offenders, preserve quiet, &c.; but the work was done entirely by the two juniors. The Senior of the three was in "Honours," or "honorary course," obtaining all the exemptions from tasks, &c., appertaining to Præfects in course, but having nothing to do in return for it.

Høt, the *mélee* at foot-ball, (see Chap. xx. p. 367).

Huff, the strong ale brewed by the College. ("To huff," is to heave, or ferment. In some counties, when the bread rises, it is said to "huff.")

Inferior, all boys below the Præfects.

Jack. The large leather can in which beer was served. (This word is not peculiar to Winchester.)

Fawster, "one given to over-much speech." A favourite mode of cutting short an argument likely to prove damaging, was by calling your adversary

"a jawster," or more briefly, by the phrase, "don't jaw."

Job's Court, a small court in the Warden's house, entered by the door near Middle-gate^b.

Jockey, "to get before another," as, "I have jockeyed him in cuse." Also "to steal," though this is a more modern usage.

Forum, the peculiar-shaped tin can, in which beer was served out in Commoners.

Jubilee, "a pleasant time," as, "won't next holidays be a jubilee, we've an extra week."

Junket, "to exult." The term was usually employed when the speaker macarised himself on his good fortune, as compared with that of his neighbours, as, "I junket over you, I am put up into Senior Part." (A "junket" is an old English name for a "feast" or "merry-making.")

Kick in, a term at foot-ball (see Chap. xx. p. 367).

Kid, "cheese;" said to be derived from the name of a grocer in the olden time, who supplied the article to the boys; or as some think, from the vessel containing it; but more probably connected with "cud," "nice." Compare the Eton "Kiddy," which means the same as "cud."

Landies, "gaiters," probably so-called because "Landy and Currell" originally supplied the articles.

Launch, to drag a boy, bed-clothes, mattress, and all, off his bedstead on to the floor.

Lobster, "to cry," "blubber;" by some derived from the

^b Anciently there was a room in the Warden's house called "Job's Chamber," because Senior Fardel, in election-week, went there to translate a portion of the Book of Job into Latin. The court leading to it was thence called Job's Court.

redness of face caused by that process ; by others, from the practice of boiling lobsters alive, and the protest the lobster is presumed to make against it. But the ill-starred animal in question does *not* cry out, not having the power to do so, though doubtless it would, if it could. Others from "slobber," *quasi* "slobberster," Wykehamicè, "one who slobbers," whence "slobster," whence "lobster." But if Mr. Blackmore is right^c in saying there is such a Hampshire word as "lowster," signifying "to cry," doubtless lobster is only a variation of it.

Lock back ; on a remedy, or holiday, when the weather did not allow of the boys going to "Hills," they were "locked back" in College or Commoners.

Locks and keys, one of the Commoner peals, (see Chap. xxii. p. 403).

Long Meads, the time after dinner, in the early summer, before evening Hills began, when all the boys were allowed to go into College meads, instead of toy-time, was so-called. A mead lying between Sick-house and Commoners bore this name.

Luxer, "a handsome fellow," I presume from "luxuries," it being a pleasure to look at him.

Milk-hole, a deep hole immediately beyond Pot, so-called from the white appearance of the water churning and foaming through the lock-gate.

Money and direction rolls, one of the Commoner peals, (see Chap. xxii. p. 403).

Mons, "a crowd," "a heap ;" also as a verb, "don't mons," "don't crowd."

Mouse-digger, "a miniature pick-axe," used by some boys to dig out vermin of various kinds, and by others to hunt for fossils. (One wonders whether

^c See Cradock Nowell.

this instrument was first introduced by Dean Buckland.)

Mug, "to bestow pains on," generally applied to study ; but sometimes to attention to one's dress, one's hair, one's bat, &c. The derivation may be from "muggy," the general sense of dulness and discomfort attaching to drudgery at Latin and Greek ; or it may be "smug," *sc.* to bring anything to a perfect state, whether one's lesson, one's toilet, &c.

Mustard and pepper keeper, an appointment resembling that of "bread-picker" in Commoners, exempting a junior from fagging. It was in the gift of the Præfect of Hall.

Muttoner, a blow from a cricket-ball, taking the skin off the knuckles, and giving the appearance of raw mutton.

Nail, the central sconce at the east and west ends of the school were so-called. A boy who had committed some unusually disgraceful offence, was placed there during school, previously to being "bibled."

Nestor, any one who seemed too old for his place in the school, or his bodily stature.

Nipperkin, properly, the smallest measure used by brewers. But applied in College to the stone jugs, of which there was one in each chamber.

Non licet gate, the large gate in the eastern wall of Meads, leading out by the old mill to St. Stephen's meadow. Probably in former times it was used as the way to Hills, &c., but was closed up, because found to be too much removed from the surveillance of the authorities. The name simply means that no one is allowed to go out that way. A tradition, handed on from generation to generation,

affirms that this gate is opened when any College-boy is expelled. On what this was originally founded, it is hard to say ; but no one, that I ever heard of, knew of any expelled boy being required to leave the College that way. If any Wykehamist can throw light on this matter, I shall be obliged to him to inform me of it.

On, the notice to return home from Hills, given by the Præfect of Hall.

Order your name, the direction given to an offender by any of the authorities. The boy so directed, if he was in College, or if the order was given in School, had to go to the Ostiarius—or to the Præfect in course, if the offence was committed in Commoners—and give information of the order, and the reason why it had been given. The Ostiarius, or Præfect in course, wrote down the culprit's name, together with that of the Master, and the offence, and carried it up to the Head or Second Master, when due execution was done.

Ostiarius, the Præfect in charge of school, (see Chap. iii. p. 57).

Packing up and *Party rolls*, two of the Commoner peals, (see Chap. xxii. p. 403).

Paradise, a small patch of trees in the outer court of the College, opposite the Warden's door, and against the wall of the stable-yard. Doubtless there had been a "garden" there once.

Pax, "a friend." "Have pax," an invitation to make up a quarrel.

Peal, a species of satirical comment on any one's personal appearance, character, or actions, put into a terse and epigrammatic form, and delivered three

times in succession, in a measured tone, as a kind of chant. (To "peal," is defined by Johnson as "to assail noisily;" see further, Chap.xxii.p.396 ff.)

Pempe, (i.e. πέμπε μῶρον πρότερον, "send the fool on.") A trick frequently played off on new comers, who are sent about from one to another to obtain the article in question, which has only an imaginary existence.

Percher, a mark resembling a Latin cross, laid horizontally, set against a boy's name on any list, to denote that he was absent without leave from chapel or Hills, or any lesson or exercise, (probably from *pecheur*, "a culprit").

Pig; see Chap. xxi. p. 382 (n.).

Pitch up, "a small concourse;" a boy's "pitch up" were his ordinary companions. To "pitch up" with any one, was to associate with him, (obviously, though not flatteringly, from street-boys playing pitch-and-toss together).

Plant, a foot-ball kicked straight into your face or stomach, (th. *planta*, "the foot").

Pledge you, an exclamation denoting that the speaker desired to secure the next reversion of anything pleasant that might be on the tapis. Thus when beer was served out, "pledge you," said to the boy drinking, gave a right to the next turn at the jorum. This custom is probably very ancient.

Ponto, a lump of soft bread (usually the inside of a sines) kneaded into a ball. The derivation of this word is very obscure. It may be connected with "puntabout," the foot-ball kicked about at what Wykehamists call a long game, and may mean a ball thrown indiscriminately anywhere; but this is very doubtful.

Pot, a lock on the river. "Pot," usually meant the

lock immediately under Hills. The other locks were called "second Pot," &c.

Pruff, "obstinate," (sc. *proof*, "to force," or "entreaty").

Pulpiters, the combination of Sixth Book and Senior Part, which at certain times of the year were formed into one class. The name is derived from the rostrum, or pulpit, placed originally in Seventh Chamber (see Johnson's poem), and afterwards transferred to the great schoolroom. Some of Warton's exercises are related to have been spoken from it. I am not aware when it was removed.

Purler, (or possibly "pearler,") a leap, head first, into the water, when bathing. If pearl-fishing, for which deep diving is necessary, be referred to, that would of course determine the spelling.

Rabbiter, a blow on the back of the neck, given with the edge of the open hand; the mode usually employed in killing rabbits.

Raymonder, a ball bowled underhand, in a series of hops along the ground, (traditionally said to be derived from one Raymond, who bowled after this fashion). Sometimes it was pronounced "ramroder."

Remedy, properly "remiday," i.e. remission-day; see Chap. xvi. p. 289.

Roker, a stick, or other instrument used for stirring anything. So also, "to roke."

Roll, a word of very wide significance, obviously dating from times when everything was written on parchment-rolls. A list of names given to a Master, or kept by a Præfect, for calling names, was so called; though the latter usually consisted of a thick square piece of paste-board. "The Roll," *par excellence*, was the list of Senior Col-

lege-boys, as arranged for succession to New College.

Rot, "nonsense," "what rot," "what stuff!" A favourite Wykehamical exclamation.

Rotten. Bells were said to go "rotten" when the first peal struck out, and there was an intermission after every two or three strokes. (The metaphor is, I presume, from anything incomplete or unsound.)

Run cloisters. When a boy in Junior Part V., during "Cloister-time," got above so many Middle Part boys as to rise high enough to be put up into Senior Part V. at the beginning of the ensuing half-year, without having been in Middle Part V. at all, he was said to have "run cloisters." I have known more than one instance where this was done.

Scaldings, a cry raised to warn others to get out of the way, at their peril, as though a person were carrying something scalding hot.

Scheme, a highly original invention; an improvement on King Alfred's mode of marking time. The functure (or functior) was measured, so as to ascertain the exact point to which it would burn down at a particular hour. Then a piece of paper was inserted there, and connected with a string, to the other end of which was attached a hat-box or a heavy book, suspended over a luckless junior's bed. When the flame reached the paper, it burnt to the string; that also ignited, releasing the weight, which descended on the junior's head, and enabled him to wake the Præfect at the hour desired. Outsiders may wonder that the junior should have slept in this manner, under

the sword of Damocles; but they who do so, do not know College juniors.

Scob, the double-lidded box, in which College-boys kept their properties; said to be derived from box (bocs) spelt backwards. Against this is to be set the fact, that "scob" in early documents is sometimes spelt "scobb."

Scrape out. A Præfect, who wished to leave the schoolroom, stood near the door, and scraped with his foot, until he obtained a nod of permission from the Master.

Scrubbing, the ordinary flogging of four cuts (probably from the double purpose to which a birch-broom is wont to be put).

Scrutiny. The inquiry made (as ordered by the Statutes) on the first day of Election-week, by the Warden of New College and Posers, of the seven seniors and seven juniors in College, as to whether they have any complaint to make of the state of things in College.

Semper testis, a boy who was ready on all occasions to back his companion's assurance, whatever it might be. A story is told of a boy having been called up to testify after his fashion, and having given the required assurance to Dr. Williams of the accuracy of his school-fellow's statement, when it was presently elicited, to the Doctor's unbounded indignation, that the *testis* did not know what the matter was, about which he had given his testimony! "Semper," it should be remarked, was a very frequent prefix to words, as "semper tug," "semper tardy," "semper shuffling," &c. The College Steward was frequently called "semper testis," being always present when the boys took the College oath.

Settler, "a crushing retort." Boys were extremely fond of this mode of putting others down; and traditional "settlers" were handed down for the admiration of posterity. Thus Warden Huntingford^c is reported to have once commenced an address to the boys, with the words "Eloquar an sileam?" but to have been cut short by an unexpected response of "Sileas" (pronounced Wykehamicè "silly ass"). Again, in one of the verbal duels, which were wont to take place between College-boys and Commoners—the time being shortly after the completion of "New Commoners"—the Commoner junior is reported to have assailed his opponent with the usual τόπος, "well, charity boy!" but to have received the crushing "settler," "well, wurkus!"

Sicily, a small three-cornered patch of turf, between the south-west corner of Cloisters and Ball-court, the usual fighting-ground for College-boys.

Sines, the allowance of bread given to the boys at breakfast and supper; said to be so-called, because originally unaccompanied by cheese or butter.

Six-and-six, a game at foot-ball, (see Chap. xx. p. 368).

Skirmishing on, hurrying home from Hills, best pace, when rain came on, the boys breaking their ranks, as skirmishers do.

Snack, a small fives' ball; (a snack properly means a small instalment of anything; I suppose the term here has reference to the size of the "snack," as compared with an ordinary fives' ball.)

Sock, "to hit hard," "defeat;" (unless the derivation is to be found in the sound of the ball against the

^c See Chap. viii. p. 149.

bat, or possibly the old nautical practice of thrashing a middy with a stocking or sock, full of wet sand, I cannot explain this word).

Socius, a companion with whom to walk to Cathedral or "Hills." Any one who, in neglect of the "sociati omnes incedunto," of the Tabula Legum, neglected to provide himself with a "socius," ran the risk of sustaining damage from the Præfect of Hall's ground-ash. The word is used more recently as a verb, as "socius me round Meads."

Spanish Poplar, a favourite tree which stood on the north side of turf in Meads, and was a good place whence to watch the matches. It succumbed to fate a few years ago.

Speg, "smart," ("spick" and span), long since, I believe, obsolete.

Splice, "to throw," "to sling." (Possibly the bringing together of the two ends of a sling was thought to bear some likeness to the process of splicing proper: otherwise this word also is a puzzle.)

Spree, when used in a bad sense, meant "pretentious;" when in a good, "stylish," "superior," (from the French, *esprit*; whence also "*a* spree," a piece of spirited fun.

Squish, "weak tea."

Standing up," a series of eight lessons of construing and repetition, said in the last week of the long half-year, (see Chap. xix. p. 356).

Stuckling, a sort of pudding composed of chopped meat and apple, flavoured with carraway. It was a standing dish at Election dinner. (Probably the word means "harvest pudding." "Stuckle" or "stook" signify the sheaves in a harvest-field.)

Sum, abbrev. of "adsum." Every boy, when his name was called, answered "sum."

Sus, the remains of the seniors' tea, which the juniors were glad to get.

Tag, to kick at foot-ball, when the kicker ought to go behind.

Tardy, "too late."

Tégé, simply the word *protégé*, shortened of its first syllable.

Thick, "a blockhead." "Bæotum in *crasso* jurares aere natum."

Thoke, "to bask," usually applied to lying warm and comfortable in bed. (Th. *θῶκος*, "a resting-place.")

A permission to lie in bed any morning until names were called at breakfast, was called a "hatch thoke," names having in the olden time been called at hatch. Thoke was often used metaphorically, to denote resting pleasantly on any idea, as "I thoke on the leave out day next week."

Ticket; see Chap. xxii. p. 404 ff.

Tight, formidable in fight. (Doubtless from tight-made, active.) Tight was sometimes used as an adjective, to denote an excess of anything, as "tight rot," "a tight snob," "an awfully tight licking," &c.

Tin gloves, a piece of barbarous bullying, practised on a new boy. It consisted in scoring his hands with a red-hot faggot-stick, by way of breaking him in to handle hot things! It was, I believe, unknown in Commoners.

Toe fittie, another atrocious outrage, though with some humour in it. A string was tied round a boy's great toe, while he lay asleep; then the string was violently pulled, and the boy was drawn out of his bed up to his tormentor's side. Some-

times two or three juniors would be fetched from different quarters of the chamber to the same point.

Toys, properly a boy's "arma scholastica," his books, paper, pens, &c., together with the cupboard which held them. In process of time the word came to mean the latter only. But the phrase "toy-time" shews the original meaning, viz. when the "toys" were in use. (From the Dutch *tuychen*, which means the paraphernalia requisite for anything, equivalent to the Greek, *τεύχεα*.)

Tug, "stale." "Tugs," a favourite phrase meaning "stale news." (Said to be an abbreviation of the proverb, "Teach your grandmother to suck eggs.")

Tund, to beat on the back with a stick. (Th. *tundo*).

Valet. Every Præfect in College employed a junior to act as his valet. The latter laid out his dressing-things, and carried them into school, if his master's toilet had not been duly performed before chapel, &c. This order of things probably prevailed from the first. The Statutes provide a *vadlettus*, to perform these offices for the Warden; in imitation of which the boy *vadletti* were instituted.

Varying, a short extempore epigram, done by Præfects during afternoon lesson. The examination in "the chamber" wound up with it. It is said to have been introduced by Dr. Gabell, and to have consisted originally, in transmuting (say) an ode of Horace into Elegiacs, or *vice versâ*. Thus, supposing Ode xxxviii. 9, B. iii. to have been chosen, "Persicos odi," &c., a boy might render the Sapphics thus:—

“Ornatus simplex operosæ Persidis odi,
 Displicet et philyrâ nexa corona, puer.
 Desine sectari, loca queis rosa sera moratur,
 Et folio myrti simplicis adde nihil,” &c.

Only it seems strange that a devoted lover of Horace, such as Gabell was, should have exposed him to be hung, drawn, and quartered after this fashion.

Vessel of paper, strictly a strip of paper used as a wrapper to a roll of paper, &c. ; by modern prescriptive usage, the half-quarter of a sheet of foolscap. (Th. *fasciculus*, “a wrapper.” This in Italian becomes *vassiola*, hence “vessel.” Lemon’s Archæol. Dict., approved by Johnson, Todd’s edition.)

Vulgus, a composition in Latin elegiac verse, done through all parts of the school ; six verses being the minimum in the higher classes, and four in the lower. The celebrated vulgus of my day on the river Rhine, ought not to be lost to posterity. Its many sins against rhythm and Prosody hardly admit of excuse ; but its geographical blunder may be extenuated, on the ground that no less personages than Napoleon I. and III. made the same mistake, and suffered smartly for it.

“Rhenus fluvius.

Est Rhenus fluvius, rapidus fluit, atque citatus,
 Dividit is Galliam ab Allemanne fine !”

Warden’s child, a boy chosen every year by the Warden for certain privileges. These were, mainly, to receive a sovereign, and dine with the Candlesticks in Election-week.

Warden’s prog, i.e. “Warden’s progress.” The annual tour of visitation of the College estates, by the Warden and Bursar.

Washing-stool, a low table, with four legs slanting outwards. Each Praefect had one to sit at in chambers.

Worsteders, thick worsted stockings, worn outside the trousers at foot-ball, to protect the shins.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SCHOOL UNDER THE PRESENT RÉGIME.

I ENTER on the last Chapter of my book with some feeling of reluctance. It is the presumed characteristic of a man who is growing old to grumble at the changes which the course of events brings about. "Let it alone for my time,"—"Alter it when I am gone,"—that is the cry which those who are drawing near the end of their career are apt to raise, forgetting that, if it should be complied with, the wheels of progress must be altogether stayed. Well, the wheels of progress have not, anyway, been stayed at Winchester. The Wykehamist of forty, or even five-and-twenty years' standing, will find hardly a trace of the order of things under which he was brought up. The connection with New College is severed; the governing body is different; Election-week is a thing of the past; the "ad portas," the "Elizabeth and Jacob," the "scrutiny," the festivities in College-hall—where are they? The boys do not say their lessons in school; do not go to "Hills;" do not learn "standing up;" Inferiors wear their hats; boys in Sixth Book are liable to be fagged; there is no wall of demarcation between College and Commoners—what do I say? there is no "Commoners" at all. "Amen-corner" is no longer the end of the College-grounds: they stretch far out into the distance, along the banks of the stream where we were wont surreptitiously to fish. The Wykehamist, as he wanders about the scenes of his boyhood, and strives to recall the ancient



Distant View of the College.

land-marks, grows every minute more hopelessly bewildered, and at last turns away with a sigh. The Winchester of the present day no more resembles the Winchester of the past, than the government of the French Directory resembled the dynasty of the Bourbons!

This, however, is in the main no subject for complaint. Many of the changes were imperatively required; many more have been in the highest degree beneficial. The substitution of Tutors' houses for Old Commoners is, I believe, an unmingled advantage: the addition of the new playing-fields has supplied one of the most urgent wants felt under the old state of things. No Wykehamist, who had carefully studied the system under which he was educated, could desire anything different from what has been done in both these instances. The subdivision of the various classes, and the removal from the large school to a series of separate class-rooms, are unquestionable advantages; and even if this had not been so, they had become indispensably necessary. The abolition of "Hills," again, of "standing up," and other old Wykehamical institutions, though they may form matter of regret to those who naturally cling to the recollections of their boyhood, are yet, after all, mere matters of detail, not affecting, in the main, the character of the school; and no more than it was quite within the competence of the authorities to order, without blame from any.

But there are other things, to which these remarks will hardly apply. Two of the recent changes in particular seem to me to affect the very life of the school; and though they have, no doubt, been devised by men of ability, who had the good of Winchester at heart, I cannot but fear the result will not

be what they anticipate. These are, the Constitution of the new Governing Body, and the system of election by competition *pur et simple*, into Winchester College. On both these heads, I trust the reader will pardon me if I venture to say a few words.

As regards the first, I have already observed, earlier in the book, that the old state of things had long ceased to be tenable. The Founder, it was pointed out, had a twofold object in the institution of the Warden and Fellows :—first, the maintenance of the Services and Masses in the College chapel ; and secondly, the government of the College, as an educational establishment. No one now - a - days would think it desirable to appropriate large endowments to eleven clergymen, for the purpose of keeping up the services in a single chapel, and the English Church has forbidden Masses. But their other function, the government of the College, is as necessary as ever, though it cannot now be exercised in exactly the same manner as in the fourteenth century.

Whoever studies the Statutes, will see that the Warden was by them intended, with the help of the Fellows, not only to govern the College, but to be the centre and moving-spring of its daily round of occupations. The Head-master was simply his deputy. He taught the books, which the Warden approved, at the times and in the manner which the Warden ordered. If a boy did well, he was recommended to the Warden for praise ; if he did ill, he was reported to the Warden for punishment. If a difficulty arose, the Warden consulted with the Fellows how to meet it. Much of this passed away with the Reformation ; and the addition of 130 Commoners, forming nearly two-thirds of the school,

necessarily destroyed nearly all that had remained. It became ever more and more difficult for the Warden to interfere much as regarded the College-boys, whom he saw only once, where the Informator saw them twenty times; but impossible to interfere at all, as regarded the Commoners, with whom he had in truth nothing to do. Gradually the school was left to the absolute government of the Headmaster. The Warden interfered only in cases of emergency, and even then, sometimes with no good effect. With the Fellows, the case was still stronger. They had active duties elsewhere, and, except at rare intervals, were never seen in the College at all.

It was doubtless from a careful consideration of these facts, that the Public School Commissioners resolved on reconstructing the Constitution of the College, retaining the Warden and Fellows under the name of "the Governing Body^a," but relieving them from all duties connected with it, excepting those of Managers. They were to administer the revenues, present to the livings, elect the two statutable masters, appoint the examiners to conduct the elections, and take cognisance of any complaints relating to the management of the school, which might be laid before them. So far, nothing could be wiser. But then the Commissioners further order, that while six of these Fellowships shall be honorary, four are to have salaries of £700 a-year annexed to them, and the holders are to reside at Winchester three months in the year; that the Warden is to have £1700 a-year, and live in the Warden's-

^a When the present body of Fellows has passed away, I presume the Governing Body will be called "the Warden and Fellows." I understand the title of Governing Body to be used temporarily only, and to avoid ambiguity.

house, being required to reside eight months in the year. Further, the Warden and Fellows are to be members of the Church of England, but not necessarily in Orders, or Wykehamists. No one doubts that these Statutes have been made by able men, and with the most honest intention of doing the best for Winchester. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to see their use or meaning.

What duties are the Warden and Fellows to perform during their residence? They ought to be important and valuable duties, seeing that no less a sum than £4,500 a-year is paid for their performance. But what *are* the duties? They are *not* to manage the College estates, or interfere in the studies or discipline of the school; or even conduct the services in the chapel. It would seem that the Commissioners have left the Warden no duties, but those of sitting in the Warden's seat in chapel, and occasionally in the Warden's seat in school; and, for the Fellows, they have left them none at all^b. If these Fellowships are intended to be retiring pensions for deserving Masters, that would be intelligible enough. But even then it would have been better to establish a pension fund; and upon this view, what could be the object of requiring residence?

As regards the abolition of that item of the Statutes which requires the Warden and Fellows to be in Orders—that seems reasonable, as there are now no clerical duties to be performed. But where is the advantage to be gained by appointing any but Wykehamists? Is it supposed that Wykehamists

^b I need hardly say, these remarks are intended to apply entirely to the Warden and Fellows created under the new Statute, and have no reference whatsoever to those who held, or hold, the offices prior to the new scheme.

are so prejudiced, or so narrow-minded, that they require the help of men of other, or of no, public schools, to enable them to come to a right decision on any point that may arise? That might, perhaps, have been pleaded when the Warden and Fellows were elected wholly from one College, which was composed of men all from one School. But seeing there is now the entire Wykehamical body, numbering many thousands, to choose from, it would be strange indeed if eleven fitting men could not be found. And it should be remembered that none but Wykehamists ever thoroughly understand Winchester. In the affair which occurred some five or six years ago, the decision of the Governing Body was all that could be desired; yet two of the non-Wykehamical members resigned on that occasion, simply because they could not understand Wykehamical institutions.

Is there any reason why the Warden and Fellows should not have been retained, only unsalaried, and exempted from residence? Could not eleven competent—nay, distinguished and able—Wykehamists have been found willing to hold the office? or, I should rather ask, Is there a Wykehamist living who would not have regarded it as an honour and privilege to be appointed to it? Is there any reason why Election-week should not have been kept up, as it has been maintained for nearly five hundred years? Would not the Warden I have described (or his deputy) and two of the Fellows have been willing to come every year in July^e to conduct the examinations, and be received with the old time-honoured

^e All necessary expenses, during the week would have been repaid, of course, out of the College funds, as has always been the case. Who would have required more?

"Ad Portas," and hear the medal-speaking in school, and dine in the College Hall, and listen to the "Domum" under the old trees, and form the centre round which old Wykehamists on that occasion have loved for so many generations to gather? Why cut off these links with the past, so dear to the hearts of thousands, when they might so easily have been preserved? I cannot but fear that their loss will insensibly, but surely, weaken the hold which Winchester has hitherto maintained over all her children.

Again, as regards the competitive examination—here, too, there is much to be said. The abolition of the privilege of Founder's-kin, and of the system of nomination, were both imperatively called for. The latter was in direct contravention of the Founder's Statutes, and the former had ceased for more than two centuries, at the least, to be a legal claim. If the lineal descendant of Alice Perot, the Founder's direct heir, could be found, persons in this generation would be claiming kinship with him, who would be his cousins fifteen times removed! No one could believe that Wykeham ever contemplated a state of things resembling this. But it is different as regards the claim of poverty. The true principle upon which posterity ought to act is, to carry out, in their integrity, those portions of Wykeham's will which are applicable to the circumstances of the present day, altering or abolishing those only which have become obsolete; and surely the *proviso* he made, that those admitted to the benefits of his foundation should be persons who could not otherwise obtain it^d, is as full

^d Wykeham's injunctions on this subject are very decided: "Omnes et singuli in idem Collegium . . . in Scholares eligendi sint pauperes indigentes." (Rub. 2.) "If they become possessed, subsequently to their election, of property to the value of £5 a-year they are to be removed." (Rub. 24.)

of practical meaning in this age of ours as ever it was in the fourteenth century. There are plenty of "pauperes et indigentes" in this generation, who want the help of Wykeham's foundation to enable them to give their children the education which befits their birth and station, but which their narrow means will not allow them to pay for. These have, through the institution of the competitive examination, been virtually deprived of the benefits which Wykeham designed for them.

Perhaps this will be questioned. It will be said that the competitive examination excludes none. True. But what if out of (say) a hundred candidates, one-half are not "pauperes et indigentes" in any reasonable sense of the words; then one-half of any legitimate claimant's prospect of success is forfeited at once. But that is a small part of the loss he sustains. Except in a few rare cases of transcendent talent, the children of the "pauperes et indigentes" cannot compete with those who can afford to pay for a previous preparation. A very pleasant picture has been drawn of the poor curate, or the half-pay officer, or the parish surgeon, teaching their boys grammar and arithmetic so carefully and well, as to enable them to distance all opponents in the struggle. But these persons, though they may figure in a pleasant picture, figure nowhere else. Supposing them to be competent to the task—a very large supposition—how are they to find the necessary time, and how supply the want of other boys studying along with their own, which all experienced in education know to be half the battle? What, again, is to become of those who have no parents at all to teach them—the orphans of gentlefolk of narrow, or no, means—the most necessitous cases of all? How are thes

to compete with lads carefully trained by an expert, who has made it his business to learn how to bring out a boy's knowledge, and make him shew well in an examination? One may read legibly enough the effect of these competitive examinations in the ominously long lists of advertisements with which the newspapers abound, of persons engaging to prepare boys for these trials—to cram them, in plain English, so as to make a good shew in them—doing the boys no good in the long run (rather harm, if anything), but still enabling them to outstrip all competitors in the special trial they have to undergo^e.

I cannot understand why the Founder's will has been, in this respect, departed from; why the examiners should not—as a preliminary to all other inquiry as to the fitness of candidates for election—ascertain the worldly means of each, and exclude all who are fairly able to pay for their education without assistance. When the field had been thus limited to those for whom Wykeham intended his bounty, it would not be of much consequence whether a strict *qualifying* examination was instituted, and the most urgent cases selected from those who surmounted this, or a strictly competitive trial adopted. In either case, Wykeham's benefactions would be

^e A parent, a few years ago, took his boy, a clever and carefully-taught lad, to compete for some open Scholarships at a public school (*not* Winchester). There were fifteen Scholarships, and nearly ninety candidates. The lad failed, and his father was expressing his regret to one of the Masters. "Oh, don't be vexed at that," was the reply, "he couldn't very well succeed; fourteen out of fifteen of these Scholarships have been given to the pupils of two of the Masters, who receive boys for that special purpose. Only send your boy to one of them for two years (it will only cost you £120 a-year!), and he will be sure to get in." "But," he added naively, "you'll hardly get him in otherwise!"

given to those for whom he designed them, which, I say emphatically, is not the case now.

Independently altogether of the claim of poverty, I must express my grave doubts whether it is either wise, or right, to attempt to fill any school with boys of brilliant ability, to the exclusion of all others—to make it, in fact, into a kind of racing-stable, from which all but thorough-breds of the highest promise are to be excluded^f. Setting aside the injury likely to be done to the boys by the extreme pressure thus put upon their powers, the benefits of education are not intended for the clever only. It is quite as important to society that boys of ordinary ability should be educated to the best of their capacity, as that the more highly gifted should be so. Nor again, be sure, did Wykeham intend his foundation to be so used. There is not a word in his Statutes to justify it.

I now proceed to give an account of the school under the existing *régime*; and have to notice,—

I. The Officials belonging to it. These are,—

(a.) THE GOVERNING BODY.

This consists of eleven persons, of whom two are *ex officio* members; one is chosen by the University of Oxford, and one by that of Cambridge; one by the Royal Society; one by the Lord Chief Justice; one by the Fellows of New College; one by the Masters at Winchester; while the remaining three are appointed by the other members of the Governing Body. The present Governors are:—

Lord Selborne, (*Chairman*).

The Warden of New College,

The Warden of Winchester College, } *Ex officio members.*

^f This observation, of course, does not apply to Winchester only.

Viscount Eversley.

Bonham Carter, Esq.

Rt. Hon. Sclater Booth, M.P., (*Lord Chief Justice's Nominee*).

Professor H. J. Smith, (*Oxford do.*).

The Master of Clare, (*Cambridge do.*).

Professor B. Price, (*Royal Society do.*).

A. O. Prickard, Esq., (*New College do.*).

Rev. Dr. Vaughan, (*Winchester Masters' do.*).

(b.) THE STAFF OF MASTERS.

Head-master.

Rev. G. Ridding, D.D., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Second Master.

Rev. G. Richardson, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Assistant Masters and Tutors.

Rev. H. E. Moberly, M.A., late Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. H. J. Wickham, late Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. J. I. H. Du Boulay, late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Frederick Morshead, Esq., M.A., late Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Charles Griffith, Esq., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.

Rev. E. W. Sergeant, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.

Rev. C. H. Hawkins, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.

W. L. Stonhouse, Esq., B.A., Brasenose College, Oxford.

E. J. Turner, Esq., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.

Rev. W. A. Fearon, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.

A. J. Toye, Esq., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.

Rev. J. T. Bramston, M.A., New College, Oxford.

R. G. K. Wrench, Esq., M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.

T. Kensington, Esq., M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rev. E. A. Were, M.A., New College, Oxford.

W. P. Smith, Esq., M.A., New College, Oxford.

E. D. A. Morshead, Esq., M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford.

C. B. Phillips, Esq., M.A., New College, Oxford.

A. J. Butler, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Rev. A. Du Boulay Hill, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.

W. B. Croft, Esq., M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford.

A. K. Cook, Esq., M.A., New College, Oxford.

(c.) THE CHAPLAINS, &c.

Rev. James Baker, M.A.

Rev. C. H. Hawkins, M.A.

Rev. J. T. Bramston, M.A.

Rev. E. A. Were, M.A.

Bursar.

J. F. Kirby, Esq., M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Organist.

W. Hutt.

II. *The course of Study pursued in the School.*—This is in the main Classical; but every boy is also required to learn Arithmetic and Mathematics as a necessary part of the school-work, and either French or German. Some branch of Physical Science, also is compulsory in nine out of the fourteen forms, into which the school is now divided.

The school-hours between the commencement of the winter half-year and Easter, are,—

On whole school-days, (viz. Mondays, Wednesdays,

and Fridays in every week,) 7 a.m. to 7.30; 9 to 12; 3 p.m. to 6.

On Tuesdays and Thursdays, 7 a.m. to 7.30; 9 to 12; the afternoon being a half-holiday.

On Saturdays, 7 a.m. to 7.30; 9 to 12; 3 to 4, 45 p.m.

Between Easter and the commencement of the summer holidays, Thursday is a remedy. There is no school, but for two hours and a-half, from 7 to 7.30 a.m. and from 9 to 11, work is done in the various sitting-rooms of the boys, the old name of Books-chambers being still retained. Occasionally, by special permission, a half-holiday is given on other days.

The school is now arranged in the following classes:—

(1.) Sixth Book, which has two divisions, viz.,—

Senior division, under the Head-

master, assisted by . . . E. Morshead, Esq.

Junior division, under Rev. W.

A. Fearon, assisted by . . . A. J. Butler, Esq.

(2.) Senior Part V., which has five divisions,—

Senior division, under . . . C. Griffith, Esq.

Middle division, which has two

parallel sections, one under . . . Rev. H. Moberly.

the other under . . . A. K. Cook, Esq.

Junior division, also with two

parallel sections, one under . . . Rev. E. W. Sergeant.

the other under . . . Rev. J. Du Boulay.

(3.) Middle Part V., which has five divisions, viz. :—

Senior division, with two parallel

divisions, one under . . . F. Morshead, Esq.

the other under . . . Rev. J. T. Bramston.

Second division, under . . . W. L. Stonhouse, Esq.

Third division, under . . . A. J. Tye, Esq.
 Junior division, under . . . Rev. E. A. Were.

(4.) Junior Part V., which has two divisions, --

Senior division, under . . . C. B. Phillips, Esq.
 Junior division, under . . . W. P. Smith, Esq.

Each of the above-named divisions contain on an average about eight-and-twenty boys. The Mathematical classes are under the instruction of the Rev. G. Richardson, the Rev. C. H. Hawkins, W. B. Croft, Esq., and F. Kensington, Esq.

Until Dr. Moberly's time, all the boys said their lessons in the same room—in the original school under the College hall, until Warden Nicolas's days; and subsequently, in the great schoolroom, which he built. When the study of Mathematics was introduced, three class-rooms were added at the western end of the school; but these were removed some years ago. More recently the two halls and Cloister-gallery of New Commoners have been converted into a series of class-rooms, in which each Master hears his own division separately. This arrangement has doubtless great advantages in the way of ensuring more order, and attention to study, though it cannot but impair the unity of the school, and tend to break into a series of smaller bodies, knowing less of one another than was formerly the case; indisputably, however, the gain is greater than the loss. The noise and idleness in the large school in former days, especially during afternoon school, was a serious obstacle to real work. One of the Masters holds his class in the large school; otherwise, it is now only used on what may be called state occasions, such as Medal-speaking, &c. At other times it forms a convenient place where the College-boys may keep their books,

and study during play-hours, if they desire it; or amuse themselves when the weather is wet, &c.

III. *The Prizes now given in the School.*—These are much more numerous than was the case in former years. They consist of—

(a.) The Goddard Scholarships, (founded, as the reader has already been informed, in the year 1846,) are of the value of £25 a-year, and are tenable for four years. One is given every year. Every fourth year £5 is added from the Pitt fund to the Goddard Scholarship for that year.

(b.) The Gold and Silver Medals, given by the Queen, of which mention has also been made in a previous chapter, and which have existed in the school for upwards of a century at the least.

(c.) The Prize Books, one in every class, at the end of each term, which also go back long beyond the memories of any living Wykehamists. These prizes are now given by Lord Saye and Sele.

(d.) The Warden and Fellows' Prizes, for Greek Iambics, a Latin Essay, and an English Verse-task. These were in the first instance given by Dr. Maltby, Bishop of Durham, who provided them for nearly twenty years. At his death in 1860, they were continued by the Warden and Fellows. In 1872 a fourth prize for Greek Prose was added, in lieu of one previously given by Archdeacon Bland.

(e.) The Duncan Prizes, founded by P. B. Duncan, Esq., of New College, in 1841 and 1855, for Mathematics, an English Historical Essay, and a Reading Prize.

There are also the Moore-Stevens Prize for the best Divinity paper in the Goddard examination; the Prizes for Natural Science, given by Lord Saye and Sele; the Head-master's Prizes for Modern Languages; and the English Literature Prize, given by Mr. Hawkins.

The chapel services are at 7.30 a.m. On Sundays there are three choral services, at 9 and 11 a.m., and 5 p.m. There are choral services also on Saints'-days at 9 a.m., and on Saturdays at 5 p.m. On Sundays about 120 of the senior boys go to the Cathedral at 11 a.m. for Litany, Communion Service and Sermon. The Sunday evening sermon, instituted (as the reader has heard) by Warden Barter in 1832, has been continued by the present Warden, who has arranged a cycle of preachers. The chapel choir at present consists of the sixteen choristers, six singing-men, and about twenty-four volunteers selected from the Masters and boys.

The chapel, being too small for the increased numbers, Fromond's chantry has of late been used as a supplementary chapel; about 110 of the younger boys attend here, the services taking place simultaneously with those in the College chapel.

IV. *The Board and Lodging of the Boys.*—(a.) The College-boys, still seventy in number, continue to reside in the College, under the care of the Hostiarius, as has been the case for many generations past. They take their meals (as represented in Chapter xv.) in the College hall; use the large schoolroom as their place of resort by day, with "Meads" as their playground, and occupy bed-chambers in Middle-court. A change, however, has been made as regards their sleeping-rooms; most of them are now lodged in the apartments over First and Second Chambers, formerly appropriated to the Fellows. Some of the old bed-chambers are still used for that purpose; the others have been made to serve as rooms for study.

(b.) The Commoners are quartered in nine houses

built in the fields above Kingsgate-street, on the ascent towards and beyond the Southampton-road. These are kept by

1. The Rev. H. J. Wickham, whose house is in St. Thomas-street.
2. The Rev. H. E. Moberly . . . Kingsgate-street.
3. The Rev. J. H. T. Du Boulay . . Painter's-Fields.
4. The Rev. W. A. Fearon . . . Culver's-Close.
5. F. Morshead, Esq. . . . Culver's-Close.
6. The Rev. C. H. Hawkins . . . Southgate-road.
7. The Rev. E. W. Sergeant . . . Culver's-Close.
8. E. J. Turner, Esq. . . . Painter's-Fields.
9. The Rev. J. T. Bramston . . . Culver's-Close.

The four houses in Culver's Close, which form a quadrilateral, are called by the boys "Commoners," being supposed to be the school descendants of the Head-master's boarders, formerly lodged in "Commoners." This is a mere fancy; but the boys hold to it, as it enables them to divide the school into three tolerably equal parts, "College," "Commoners," and "Houses," and thus render their cricket and foot-ball contests more evenly matched. Each of the nine houses contains about thirty-five boys.

The establishment of these houses has, of necessity, caused some alterations in the bounds permitted to the boys. Formerly they could not go further down College-street than the bookseller's shop; now those parts which lie between the College and their boarding-houses are accounted to be within bounds, though the remainder of the town is still strictly tabooed.

V. *Expenses of Education.*—(a.) Previously to 1873, those of a College-boy were very trifling. There

was a charge, in the instance of all inferiors, for a Præfect-tutor, another for medical attendance, also for washing, and a few other petty items: the whole scarcely amounting to £10 a-year. To this, of course, had to be added the bills for books, clothes, journeys, weekly allowance, and the school subscriptions for cricket, foot-ball, athletic sports, &c. These—which ought not strictly to be accounted as charges for a boy's education, seeing that all, or nearly all, would have been incurred if he had remained at home—might, altogether, come to something less than £15 a half-year, making the total cost per annum a little under £40. This is now increased by the charge of £21, imposed by the Governing Body in 1873, the particulars of which are given in Chap. ix. p. 171. But the charges for medical attendance, &c., mentioned above, are defrayed out of this £21; so that, with economy, £50 a-year will cover the entire cost of a College-boy's education. When the promised Exhibitions shall be founded—which, it is understood, will take place as soon as the Governing Body is relieved from their present financial difficulties—this will, of course, be reduced to the old amount, in the instance of those who succeed in obtaining the Exhibitions.

(b.) The Commoners are charged by their Tutors for board, lodging, and education, £105 a-year; of this sum, thirty guineas is paid for the Easter Term, and thirty-five for each of the Whitsuntide and Michaelmas Terms. There is an entrance-fee of £12 in the instance of every Commoner. These charges are irrespective of the cost of books, clothes, journeys, pocket-money, school subscriptions, and other similar small expenses. Altogether, the aver-

age cost of maintaining a boy in Commoners is about £130, or perhaps £140, a-year.

VI. *Exhibitions*.—There are at present eight Exhibitions, each of the value of £50 a-year, to which boys between twelve and fourteen years of age are eligible by competition, whether they are already in the school as Commoners, or not. These are decided at the same time as the Scholarships—the annual election in July.

There are also other Exhibitions, varying in amount, the highest being of the value of £50, provided out of the “Fox and Burton” and “Dobson and Eyre” funds. These were formerly given to College-boys, who were thought deserving, as some compensation for the loss of New College; but they are now competed for by examination, and are tenable at any college at either University, New College not excepted.

VII. *Admissions and Elections*.—No boy can be admitted into the school under twelve years of age, or after fifteen, unless by the special permission of the Head-master.

Previously to the admission of any boy as a Commoner, he is examined by the Head-master, or his deputy, in elementary, religious, historical, and geographical knowledge; in Greek, Latin, and French grammar and parsing, together with the translation of some easy passage of a Greek or Latin author into English, and of a piece of English into Latin; also in the first rules of arithmetic.

A boy is further required to bring a certificate of good conduct from some responsible person. It is

competent for the Head-master to refuse admission to any boy, if he sees fit.

The election for Scholars and Exhibitioners takes place every year in the month of July, and the day of its commencement is notified to the public at least two months previously. It is conducted by Examiners, appointed by the Governing Body, who declare the result of the election at a meeting held by them shortly afterwards.

Candidates who intend to offer themselves, are required to signify their intentions to that effect, on or before the last day of June, to the Rev. G. Richardson, the College, Winchester. The application must be accompanied by the following papers :—

1. Certificate of date of Birth.
2. Testimonial to Character, from the teacher under whom the boy has hitherto pursued his education.

No boy can remain in the school after the age of sixteen, unless he shall by that time have reached Middle Part of Fifth; or after the age of seventeen, unless he shall have reached Senior Part of Fifth. No boy shall remain in the school after the age of eighteen years, unless by the special permission of the Head-master, who can allow him to stay till he is nineteen, but no longer.

VIII. *Improvements in the College Premises, &c.*—Great additions have been made of late years to the playing-grounds, by taking in the whole of the meadow lying beyond College-meads, as far as the turn on the St. Cross-road. A new Fives and a new Racquet-court have been erected by the liberality of the late Rev. C. H. Ridding; and an excellent bathing-place, constructed in the Elizabeth-meadow, thereby enabling boys to take their swim without the neces-

sity of the long walk which, in former times, always preceded it. A Gymnasium is in course of erection, under the orders of the Governing Body. There is a Glee Club, conducted by Mr. Toye; a Natural History Society, under the presidency of the Headmaster; a Debating Society, under that of Mr. Hawkins, as well as a Shakespeare Society, under the same direction. A School Paper, called "The Wykehamist," is edited by two of the Præfects.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

THE DESCURES FAMILY.

IN the Domesday Book, Hugh de Port appears as the holder of the manor of Wykeham, and he granted a fee of it to the Descures family. In the Black Book of the Exchequer (compiled in Henry II.'s reign, and containing the names of the holders of fees in the time of Henry I.) John de Port, Hugh's descendant, certifies that Matthew Descures holds of him, among other knight's fees, the manor of Wykeham. In the reigns of Richard I. and John, Roger Descures appears as the holder of Wykeham. His son or grandson, Roger, obtained from Henry III. the right of free warren in the manor of Wykeham. His descendant, Sir John Descures, in 1309 was returned as knight of the shire for South Hants. He was certainly in possession of the manor of Wykeham in 1331, as at that date and on several subsequent occasions he presented to Wykeham parish, as patron. He was made Governor of Winchester Castle in 1321, and held the office till 1338. He died in 1353, leaving a son John, and a daughter Sibilla. The former died without issue in 1381; and thereupon the manor of Wykeham passed to his sister, who had married John Uvedale, of Titsey, in Surrey. The Uvedales held it till 1662.

Sir John Descures was succeeded by Sir Robert Daundely, as Governor of Winchester. No Uvedale was Governor of it until 1535.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(1.) THE INSCRIPTION beneath the Tower in Warden Thorburn's Chapel runs :—

IN MEMORIAM
DAVID WILLIAMS, I.C.D.
HUIUS COLLEGII
XIV. ANNOS HOSTIARII.
XII. INFORMATORIS
COLL. B. M. WINTON IN OXON
XX. ANNOS CUSTODIS,
VIRI CONSILIO, DIGNITATE,
DOCTRINA
HUMANITATE, MUNIFICENTIA,
CANDORE MORUM, ET INTEGRI-
TATE VITÆ
SI QUIS ALIUS, INSIGNIS.

IN MEMORIAM
ROBERT SPECKOTT BARTER,
I. C. B.
HUIUS COLLEGII
XXIX. ANNOS CUSTODIS
VIRI
OB BENEVOLENTIAM CORDIS, ET
LARGITATEM,
CONSTANTIAM ANIMI, ET FIDEM,
SUAVITATEM, LIBERALITATEM,
PIETATEM,
NEMINI NON DILECTI.

“Utriusque geminorum horum Collegiorum decoris, tutelæ, columnæ,
Utriusque intra unius anni spatium ad immortalia advocati,
Hanc turrim, vetustate diu labantem, denuo exædificandam, ab no-
mine duorum custodum
Perpetuo appellandam, consuerunt Wiccamici sui AS. MDCCCLXIII.,
posterorum causâ,
Id scilicet in animis habentes, ut in ipsâ acerbissimâ desiderii recor-
datione manifestum facerent
Non in quibuslibet viris magnis, nec in brevem aliquam hominum
ætatem,
Sed in omne tempus, et in perpetuâ serie virorum ad horum ex-
emplar,
Sub his penetralibus, ad omnia bona fortia fidelia enutriendorum,
STARE REM WICCAMICAM.”

(2.) THE CRIMEAN MEMORIAL.—There are thirteen Wykehamists recorded on this, viz. :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Colonel Walter Trevelyan. | |
| 2. Colonel J. J. Lowth. | 8. Lieutenant F. J. Curtis. |
| 3. Colonel R. E. Boyle. | 9. Lieutenant F. G. Barker. |
| 4. Captain H. J. Butler. | 10. Lieutenant A. F. Maine. |
| 5. Captain C. Conolly. | 11. Lieutenant J. B. Dennis. |
| 6. Lieutenant S. Twyford. | 12. Lieutenant C. H. Beck. |
| 7. Lieutenant E. H. Webb. | 13. Ensign R. G. Deane. |

The central inscription, by Warden Barter, runs thus ;—

“This porch has been prepared and beautified by William of Wykeham's sons, as a sacred shrine, in which the memory of their thirteen brethren, who died in the War of the Crimea,

A.D. 1854-5, may be preserved, for an example to future generations. Think upon them, thou who art passing by to-day, child of the same family, bought by the same Lord. Keep thy foot, when thou goest into this House of God. There watch thine armour, and make thyself ready by prayer to fight and to die, the faithful soldier and servant of Christ, and of thy country."

(3.) THE LATIN VERSES on the wall by the side of the picture of the TRUSTY SERVANT :—

"Effigiem servi si vis spectare probati,
 Quisquis es, hæc oculos pascas imago tuos :
 Porcinum os quocumque cibo jejunia sedat ;
 Hæc sera, consilium ne fluat, arcta premit.
 Dat patientem asinus dominis jurgantibus aurem ;
 Cervus habet celeres ire, redire pedes.
 Læva docet multum, tot rebus onusta, laborem ;
 Vestis munditiem, dextera aperta fidem.
 Accinctus gladio, clypeo munitus ; et indè
 Vel se, vel dominum, quo tueatur, habet."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

THE SUSTERNE CHAPEL. ("WICKHAMS.")

By an indenture dated 5 Sept., 1809, 49° Geo. III.

The Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral conveyed to the Rev. William Stanley Goddard, of the parish of St. Swithun, near the close of Winchester, Doctor of Divinity, and sold to him in consideration of 5*s.* paid in discharge of costs and expenses, and the sum of £118 8*s.* (which said sum had been duly paid into the Bank of England)—"All that their house or tenement, sometime the Sisterne Chapel, set, lying, and being in the parish of St. Swithun, near Winchester, with a little garden adjoining the same, containing 27 feet from said tenement southwards, and from the College stable-wall westward three-score and six feet ; which said tenement and garden-plot abutteth upon the highway northward, and upon a garden-plot late in the tenure and occupation of Robert Burgess, gentleman, on the south part, and the stable-wall of the

said College eastward, and upon a way coming into the late Sisterne house from the great gate westward, (which said house or tenement and little garden adjoining are now demised and granted to the said William Stanley Goddard, by an indenture of lease dated 24 June, 1805, from the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, then last past, for the term of 30 years, under the yearly rent of 2s. 8d.) Also the said yearly rent of 2s. 8d. reserved by the said lease, and all the estate, right, title, interest, benefit of reward, claim, or demand whatsoever. Discharged from all land-tax, reserved rents, and other incumbrances."

TENANTS OF THE SUSTERNE CHAPEL.

A.D.

- 1545. William Fryer, of the Soke, barber.
- 1599. Richard Churcher.
- 1605. Arthur Harmer (some relation probably of Warden Harmer).
- 1654. Mr. Pitt.
- 1658. Christopher Meggs, gentleman.
- 1662. Richard Osgood, Fellow of the College.
- 1693. Mrs. Osgood, his widow.
- 1714. Mrs. Fiennes (widow of Rev. P. Fiennes, Fellow).
- 1730. Ambrose Holloway, gentleman.
- 1760. Mrs. Heath.
- 1766. Mr. J. Craddock.
- 1766. Mr. Blackstone, Fellow.
- 1772. Mr. Collins, Hostiarius.
- 1786. Mr. Price, Fellow.
- 1791. Captain Ball.
- 1792. Mrs. Price.
- 1794. Mr. Wickham (medical attendant of the College).
- 1801. Mr. Bower (writing-master to the College).
- 1810. Occupied by Dr. Gabell (having been purchased by Dr. Goddard, shortly before his resignation).
- 1824. Do. by Dr. Williams.
- 1835. Do. by Dr. Moberly.
- 1839. Pulled down.

TENANTS OF THE SUSTERNE SPITAL.

A.D.

- 1545. William Weye.
- 1557. Gilbert Roberts.
- 1597. Guy Dobbins, Fellow of the College.
- 1599. Leonard Bilson (son of Warden Bilson), steward.
- 1613. William Trussell, Hostiarius.
- 1625. H. Robinson, Head-master.
- 1629. Edward Stanley, Head-master.
- 1654. William Burt, Hostiarius, afterwards Head-master
and Warden.
- 1659. Henry Beeston, Head-master.
- 1674. Robert Bruges, gentleman.
- 1687. William Coker, M.D.
- 1705. Mrs. Coker (widow of the above).
- 1715. John Penton, gentleman.
- 1720. Benjamin Wootton, Clerk.
- 1720. Christopher Eyre, Hostiarius.
- 1741. Samuel Speed, Hostiarius.
- 1756. Joseph Warton, Hostiarius.
- 1796. William J. Goddard, Hostiarius, afterwards Head-
master.
- 1810. Henry D. Gabell, Head-master.
- 1824. David Williams, Head-master.
- 1835. George Moberly, Head-master.
- 1838. Pulled down.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

H. M.

IN MEMORIAM VIRI EGREGII

GEORGII ISAAC HUNTINGFORD,

S. T. P.

EPISCOPI HEREFORDIENSIS

QUI

HUIC COLLEGIO PER XLII. ANNOS

STRENUÈ, FIDELITER, OFFICIOSE

H h

PRÆFUIT CUSTOS
 IDEMQUE REI LITERARIE DOMI FORISQUE
 PRÆSERTIM QUOD AD GRÆCAM LINGUAM ATTINET
 ASSIDUITATE INSERVIIIT FRUCTUOSISSIMÂ
 PIO GRATOQUE ANIMO
 P. C.
 CUSTOS ET SOCII WINTONIENSIS.
 OBIT SI QUIS ALIUS DESIDERATISSIMUS
 DIE MENSIS APR. IX^{mo}. A.S. MDCCCXXXII.
 ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXXIV.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

p. 190, note, "*evidently* inserted by the authorities." The author wishes to correct this statement. There is *likelihood*, but no *evidence*, so far as he is aware, that the authorities drew up the paragraph.

Letters from Warden Huntingford, to Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the subject of the two rebellions of 1793, and 1818.

I.

Winton College, May 25, 1794.

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Newbolt has been so kind as to communicate to me your wish, that I should, in confidence, impart to you my sentiments respecting any candidates who may offer themselves at your college, but who were involved in the business of April, 1793. He has also intimated, that if you should elect any of those unfortunate young men, you desire authority from our college to say that the persons so elected were not so active as others in the disturbance.

"I am particularly obliged to you for the support you

give to the discipline of this, and indeed every other school, by the marked disapprobation of boys concerned in an atrocious insurgency and obstinate perseverance against their masters. It cannot, however, be my wish, that for a local offence, any individual should be persecuted through life. They all have my pardon, and my best wishes for such success as their conduct preceding and subsequent may deserve. If you consult me concerning the general characters of any boys before the rebellion, I must decline speaking; but I would beg leave to suggest, that however you may have rejected candidates last year, yet you may very consistently receive them now, provided they can bring certificates of good behaviour from April, 1793, to your election in 1794, and provided they were not reckoned bad boys before April, 1793. When the boys dismissed hence in April, 1793, came before you in August (July?) of the same year, they came without opportunity of retrieving their character; but by August (July?) next, fifteen months will have elapsed, during which they may have given proof of their disposition to observe good order; and upon testimonial of such disposition, you would be perfectly justified in admitting boys, whom, for want of such testimonials, you before rejected. The candidates, in one or the other case, would come before you under circumstances totally different.

“Your obedient servant,

“G. T. HUNTINGFORD.”

II.

“*Winton College, July 16, 1794.*”

“DEAR SIR,—Of Kinneir I know nothing but what was inoffensive. Of Johnson I knew much that was laudable and amiable, before they became involved in the calamitous business of March (April?) 1793. If you should elect the former, I daresay he will behave well; if the latter should

be a member of your society, he will do you credit. Nothing but dire necessity could have induced me to part with Johnson, but a line could not be drawn so as to save him.

“I am, with the greatest respect,

“Your affectionate, humble servant,

“G. T. HUNTINGFORD.”

III.

“*Winton College, June 1, 1818.*

“DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,—Your inquiries are kind. The late rebellion was less sinful than that of 1793, because there was no oath solemnly, or rather profanely, administered among the senior boys; but it was equally outrageous and ferocious, totally unlike any acts of disobedience which we ever saw or heard of in the days of our puerility! Occurrences of this kind are painful to me, in their nature and in their consequences; but my mind was not suffered to dwell long on that subject.

“I am, dear Mr. President, with true regard,

“Your faithful and much-obliged servant,

“G. T. HEREFORD^a.”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR ALEXANDER
MALET, BART., AND DR. WILLIAMS.

“*Sir A. Malet to Dr. Williams.*

“*Itchen Abbas, Oct. 13, 1828.*

“SIR,—Notwithstanding the assurance given me by you in conversation yesterday, that you considered it impossible to revoke your decision in my brother’s case, I can-

^a These letters shew that, however mistaken may have been Warden Huntingford’s measures, he was a kind-hearted and forgiving man.

not divest myself of the hope, that the sentence of expulsion, pronounced against him and the other youths who have been dismissed from Commoners for the same cause, may be modified.

“ I cannot help feeling, as I took the liberty of observing to you, that the punishment of expulsion is severe, as inflicted for the reasons stated ; and it appears to me, that a temporary removal from the school in the nature of rustication, as practised at the Universities, would satisfy the punctilios of delegated authority, be more proportioned to the nature of the offence, and produce all the effect required by example.

“ In making such a suggestion, I trust you will perceive an anxious wish on my part to lead to an arrangement which should obviate any appearance of vacillation in the counsels of the heads of the school, and which should at the same time fall with less severity on those who have been removed by your authority.

“ It would, I presume, be a task of no great difficulty to induce the Præfects to apply to you, collectively, for a modification of the sentence of expulsion, which was pronounced for an offence against their *tolerated power*, though (strictly speaking) not against their *authorised jurisdiction* ; and since so decided a measure has been resorted to, with a view to strengthen their hands, I think I am not attributing too much influence to them as a body, in hoping that their application to you, Sir (supposing it to be made), in behalf of those of their school-fellows who have been expelled for attempting to curb the exercise of their Præfectorial powers, would be listened to with favour.

“ I have, &c.,

“ A. MALET.

“ *The Rev. Dr. Williams.*”

*"Dr. Williams to Sir A. Malet on the subject of his
Brother's expulsion.*

"Winchester, Oct. 13, 1828.

"SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of this day's date, and beg you to be assured that I have paid the most serious attention to its contents. That you should think the sentence of expulsion pronounced against your brother unnecessarily severe, I cannot but regret; and the more so, as the same considerations of duty, which led me to inflict the punishment, forbid me now to recall it. The authority of the Præfects is, as you well know, essential to the maintenance of discipline in the school; and it is impossible they can exercise that authority with effect, if they are not protected from the danger of personal outrage. If they, or any of them, exceed the line of their duty, or commit any wrong act, they are liable to censure and punishment from the Master; or if any boy thinks himself aggrieved, he may prefer his complaint in the proper quarter, with a certainty that it will meet with due attention; but he cannot be permitted, on any account, to use force against those whom he is bound to obey. I cannot admit the distinction, which I understand you to make—between authority exercised on behalf of the Master, or in enforcing privileges permitted to the Præfects—is of sufficient importance to make that conduct venial in the one case, which is highly culpable in the other. Obedience to the Præfects is required by the usages of the School; and if boys either deliberately refuse obedience, or support the disobedience of others, by tumultuous and forcible resistance to their officers, such conduct is, in my opinion, subversive of subordination and discipline, and requires to be repressed by such an example as I have lately been compelled to make. Severe notice I conceive to be equally necessary, whether the immediate occasion of the disorder arise from the exercise of authority in a matter of discipline, or of

personal privileges; since, if it were once admitted that violent hands could, with impunity, be laid upon the Præfects, boys who were discontented with their superior, for a strict and honest discharge of official duty, would never be at a loss to find opportunities of venting their dissatisfaction on some question of a different nature. My conviction being still, that the removal of your brother, and the other young persons connected with him, was a necessary measure, I am sorry to add, that the step which you propose to obviate the charge of vacillation in the counsels of the Heads of the school, in case they should revoke their sentence, does not appear to me to be well suited for that purpose. The consequence of reversing the sentence upon petition of the Præfects would be, that if similar circumstances should hereafter occur, no Præfect could, without being placed in a most invidious light, decline to intercede for the offender; and the expectation that the Master would favourably receive such intercession, must operate to diminish the salutary fear of serious consequences, which the punishment now inflicted is intended to impress. In conclusion, I can only repeat my assurance, that I would not have removed your brother from the school, unless a review of all the circumstances connected with the case had convinced me that it was necessary; and that I most unwillingly decline acceding to your proposal for his reinstatement, because I am persuaded that I could not receive him without injury to the discipline which I am bound to maintain.

“I have, &c.

“D. WILLIAMS.

“*Sir Alexander Malet, Bart.*”

Sir Alexander replied shortly to Dr. Williams's letter, expressing his regret at the Doctor's decision, but introducing no new arguments.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV.

p. 284, l. 15, "*Before Arnold died.*" The author has here inadvertently misquoted some of Mr. Hughes's words. But the misquotation does not affect the argument.

EVENING PRAYER IN COMMONERS.

"O LORD, we beseech Thee, mercifully to hear our prayers, and spare all those who confess their sins unto Thee; that they whose consciences by sin are accused, by Thy merciful pardon may be absolved, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"O God, by whose Almighty power and merciful goodness the events of life are directed, to Thee we render most unfeigned thanks for the preservation with which Thou hast protected us during this day past.

"Thou knowest, O God, the secrets of our hearts, and the frailties of our nature; but for Christ's sake forgive whatever Thou hast seen irrational, immoral, or irreligious in our conduct.

"Inspire our souls with an earnest desire to flee from sin, and to follow righteousness. Impress on our thoughts this awful truth, that there can be no peace for the wicked. Cherish in our hearts a spirit of faith and obedience towards Christ our Redeemer: and give us grace so duly to meditate on the end for which our life has been prolonged, that we may endeavour more and more continually to promote Thy glory, the good of mankind, and the salvation of our own souls.

"To Thy gracious protection do we commend ourselves, our relations, and friends, through the perils and dangers of the approaching night. Refresh, we beseech Thee, our bodies with necessary sleep; but more especially preserve our souls from all things that may tend to corrupt them. In the depth of darkness, during our wakeful hours, cause us to remember, that in power and knowledge Thou art everywhere present, and that in Thy sight every

thought, word, and deed, of mankind must always be open. O let the consciousness of Thy omnipresence dwell so deeply and constantly in our minds, that no temptation may prevail on us to do evil ; and fill us with such a love of Thy goodness, and dread of Thy displeasure, that at all times and in all places, whether in secret retirement or public intercourse, whether in the darkness of night or the light of day, we may so endeavour to keep Thy holy commandments, as finally after this life to partake of immortal happiness ; through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, who rose again for our justification, and who ever liveth to make intercession for us.

“The grace,” &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII.

SONG OF “DULCE DOMUM.”

“CONCINAMUS, O sodales,
Eja ! quid silemus !
Nobile canticum,
Dulce melos, domum,
Dulce domum resonemus !

CHORUS.

Domum, domum, dulce domum,
Domum, domum, dulce domum,
Dulce, dulce, dulce, domum,
Dulce domum resonemus !

“Appropinquat, ecce, felix
Hora gaudiorum :
Post grave tedium
Advenit omnium
Meta petita laborum.

Domum, &c.

“ Musa, libros mitte, fessa,
 Mitte pensa dura,
 Mitte negotium,
 Jam datur otium,
 Me mea mittito cura.

Domum, &c.

“ Ridet annus, prata rident ;
 Nosque rideamus :
 Jam repetit domum
 Daulias advena ;
 Nosque domum repetamus.

Domum, &c.

“ Heus ! Rogere, fer caballos ;
 Eja, nunc eamus ;
 Limen amabile,
 Matris et oscula
 Suaviter et repetamus.

Domum, &c.

“ Concinamus ad penates,
 Vox et audiatur ;
 Phospore ! quid jubar,
 Segnius emicans,
 Gaudia nostra moratur ?

Domum, &c.”

“JAM LUCIS ORTO SIDERE.”

This hymn, which is to be found in the Roman Breviary for “Dominica ad Primum,” has been attributed, but I know not whether on sufficient grounds, to St. Ambrose. It used to be sung, in the earlier days of the College, every morning, and instead of Grace during Easter-time. In later times, it was used only on the breaking-up morning

in the summer half-year. Then a procession was formed round Court, and it was duly chanted.

“ Jam lucis orto sidere,
Deum precemur supplices,
Ut in diurnis actibus
Nos servet a nocentibus.

“ Linguam refrænans temperet,
Ne litis horror insonet ;
Visum fovendo contegat,
Ne vanitates hauriat.

“ Sint pura cordis intima,
Absistat et vecordia :
Carnis terat superbiam,
Potûs cibique parcitas.

“ Ut cum dies abscesserit,
Noctemque sors reduxerit,
Mundi per abstinentiam,
Ipsi canamus gloriam.

“ Deo Patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli Filio,
Cum Spiritu Paracleto,
Et nunc, et in perpetuum.”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

HONOURS RECENTLY GAINED BY WYKEHAMISTS.

Honours for the year ending July, 1874.

2 First Class, Final Classical Schools, Oxford.

1	„	„	Law	„	„
1	„	„	Modern History	„	„
2	„	„	Natural Science	„	„

- 1 First Class, Classical Tripos, Cambridge.
 4 „ „ „ Moderations, Oxford.
 2 „ „ Mathematical „ „
 2 Second Class, Final Classical Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ Modern History „ „
 2 „ „ Theological „ „
 5 „ „ Classical Moderations „ „
 3 „ „ Mathematical „ „
 1 Fellowship, Oxford.
 10 Scholarships and Exhibitions, Oxford.
 4 „ „ Cambridge.
 1 Scholarship, Durham.
 The Vinerian Law Scholarship, Oxford.
 The Newdigate Prize for English Verse, Oxford.
 Honourable Mention for Ireland Scholarship, Oxford.
 „ „ Chancellor's Medals, Cambridge.
 1 successful for Indian Civil Service.
 First on the Roll for Woolwich.
 „ „ „ Sandhurst.

Honours for the year ending July, 1875.

- 2 First Class, Final Classical Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ „ Mathematical Schools, Oxford.
 2 „ „ „ Law Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ „ Modern History Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ „ Classical Tripos, Cambridge.
 7 „ „ „ „ Moderations, Oxford.
 4 Second Class, Final Classical Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ „ Modern History Schools, Oxford.
 1 „ „ „ Natural Science „ „
 1 „ „ Law and History Tripos, Cambridge.
 8 „ „ Classical Moderations, Oxford.
 3 Fellowships, Oxford.
 7 Scholarships, „
 5 „ Cambridge.
 The Craven Scholarship, Oxford.

The Abbott Scholarship, Cambridge.

The Newdigate Prize, Oxford.

4 Successful for Indian Civil Service.

Honours for the year ending July, 1876.

- 3 First Class, Final Classical Schools, Oxford.
- 1 " " " Law " "
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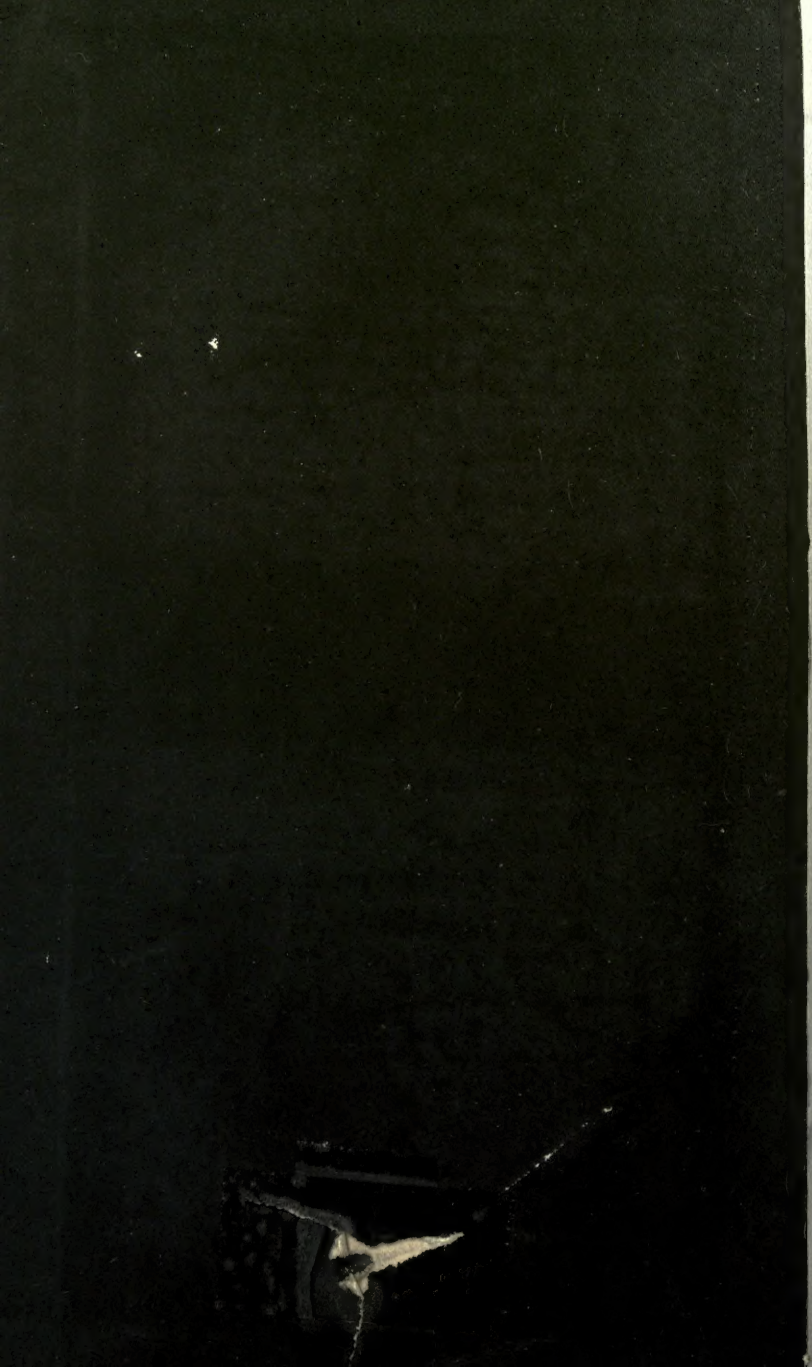
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